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940 WEST END AVE. APT. 10-
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THE AMERICAN REVIEW

ON THE

SOVIET UNION

IN THIS ISSUE

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(Translated and annotated by Rose Maurer)

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Documents — Books Received — Chronology

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THE AMERICAN REVIEW ON THE SOVIET UNION

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MILESTONES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET FAMILY LAW*

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Candidate of Juridical Sciences

(Translated and annotated by Rose Maurer)

IMMEDIATELY after the great October upheaval, the first socialist state in the world set about to put into effect one of its historic tasks — the reconstruction of marriage and family relationships upon new foundations.

On December 19 and 20, 1917, the first two historical decrees issued by the Soviet authority in the field of family and marriage were published in the *Gazeta vremennogo rabochego i krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva*** : the decree "On Dissolution of Marriage" and the decree "On Civil Marriage, on Children, and on the Introduction of Registry Books for Acts of Status."¹

These two decrees occupy a special place in the history of Soviet law. The chronology of Soviet family legislation starts with them. In them were the first formulations of the most important, the most

Rose Maurer, whose article, "The Behavior of Soviet Schoolchildren," appeared in the March, 1948, issue of this *Review*, holds an M.A. degree in Public Law, Columbia University, and has lectured and written extensively on Soviet institutions, particularly the family.

* This article appeared in the No. 10, 1947, issue of *Sovetskoe gosudarstvo i pravo* (Soviet State and Law), the magazine issued by the Institute of Law of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the All-Union Institute of Juridical Sciences of the Ministry of Justice of the USSR. The editor of the magazine is A. Vyshinsky, legal expert and diplomat, who has represented his country at the General Assembly of the United Nations. Contributors to the magazine include the foremost Soviet scholars in the field of law. G. M. Sverdlov, who holds a graduate degree in law, has written extensively on the subject of his specialty, family law. His article under translation is not only authoritative in expressing the current Soviet view on marriage and divorce but it is thorough in its coverage of the subject from the earliest decrees to the present ones. The thirtieth anniversary of the Soviet regime was the occasion for a whole series of such review articles in many fields, several of which (on labor law, on criminal law, etc.) appear in the same issue of the magazine as this article. R. M.

** The newspaper or "Gazette" of the Provisional Government of Workers and Peasants. R. M.

1. The first decree, without any date, was published in issue No. 35 of the above-mentioned newspaper on December 19, 1917 (cf. *Sobr. zakon.*, 1917, No. 10, Art. 152.). The second decree, dated, December 18, 1917, was published in issue No. 57 of the same newspaper on December 20, 1917 (cf. *Sobr. zakon.*, 1917, No. 11, Art. 160.)

fundamental principles concerning Soviet family and marriage, which were to be retained basically unchanged in the whole subsequent history of our legislation and which find expression in our current laws as well.

The enormous significance of these decrees was pointed out many times by V. I. Lenin in his speeches and articles.² What, then, did these first decrees on marriage and divorce promulgated by the Soviet state represent? What evaluation did V. I. Lenin give them?

BEFORE 1917

The family legislation of Tsarist Russia took upon itself all those basic features characteristic of bourgeois legislation everywhere. Although differing from other bourgeois legislation by the denial of civil, secular marriage and by the closer and more obvious interlacing of its standards with the standards of church law, and differing also from the legislation of other countries by the regulation of a series of questions concerning personal and property relationships of the family in a direction that increased its patriarchal quality,^{2a} pre-Revolutionary family legislation was built basically upon the inequality of woman, on the despotism of the husband and the father, on the eternal principles of domination and subjugation.

-
2. A whole series of utterances by Vladimir Il'ich may be cited in which he spoke directly about these particular legislative acts or in which even when not directly naming them he had them in mind. Such are V. I. Lenin's speech at the First All-Russian Congress of Women Workers in November, 1918 (*Soch.*, vol. XXIII); the speech at the VIII Congress of the R.K.P. (b) in March, 1919 (vol. XXIV); the article "Great Beginning" written in June, 1919 (vol. XXIV); the speech at the IV Moscow Citywide Non-Party Conference of Women Workers in September, 1919 (vol. XXIV); the article "The Soviet Power and the Position of Women," written in November, 1919 (vol. XXIV); the article "To Women Workers," written in February, 1920; the article "International Women's Day" written in March, 1920 (vol. XXV); the article "International Women's Day" March, 1921 (vol. XXVI); the article "Upon the Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," October, 1921 (vol. XXVII); the article "On the Meaning of Militant Materialism" written in March, 1922 (vol. XXVII).
 - 2a. Occasionally, however, the direction was away from the patriarchal as, for example, on the issue of the separation of the property of spouses.
 3. Such as the well-known articles 106 and 107 in vol. X of the *Svod zakonov ros. imperii*, with their notorious specifications concerning the wife's obligation to dwell with the husband "in unlimited obedience, to render him every compliance" and the husband's obligation "to forgive her inadequacies and mitigate her infirmities," and so on.
 4. In Par. 213 of the French Civil Code. Only on February 18, 1938 was a law published in France which omitted these odious words about "protection" and "obedience." However, as is known, this by no means changed the principle of the subordinate position of women expressed in the Code which even now in defining the position of the spouses regards the husband as "head of the family" (cf. Par. 213 of this Code).

In the Tsarist family and marriage laws there could, to be sure, be found not a few awkward, archaic formulations, having their source occasionally in the By-Laws of the Deanery.³ But, essentially, the legislation was permeated with those ideas which were then current in the laws of other lands. Thus, if in Tsarist law we could read about the "obedience" of the wife, then it was also possible to read, for example in the French Civil Code, that "the husband is obliged to give protection to his wife, the wife obedience to her husband."⁴ In pre-Revolutionary Russian law it was possible to find not a few provisions which lowered the rights and the dignity of married women. But not long before the October Revolution a foreign civil law was adopted—in the Swiss Code of 1907—which was praised in bourgeois literature as the most progressive legislative act "of a feminist trend"⁵ and which continues unchanged to this very day. In this law can be found many provisions expressing the principle of the husband's supremacy: "the husband—the head of the marital union" (Par. 160), he alone "decides the place of residence of the couple" (Par. 161), the wife is obliged to take the husband's surname (Par. 161), the wife has the right to occupy herself in business or in the professions only with the "explicit or tacit expression of consent on the part of the husband" (Par. 167), and so on.

If in pre-Revolutionary Russian law the place of residence of the wife was determined only by the husband's wish, then it should be noted that even to the present day a regulation is in effect, in English law, for example, by force of which the dwelling place of a married woman is considered that of her husband, even though she may in fact be living away from him.⁶ This regulation quite clearly emphasizes the thought that the wife's individuality is overshadowed by the husband's.

In pre-Revolutionary Russian law there were many provisions lowering the rights and dignity of the woman as mother. But even these were, in principle, of the kind which could be found at that time in any foreign country and which, right up to the present, albeit in somewhat modernized dress, lend a motley aspect to many legal systems in other lands.⁷

5. Cf. in this connection M. Pergament's *Noveishee grazhdanskoe ulozhenie* (The Latest Civil Code), "Pravo," 1909, No. 20.

6. Cf. E. Dzhenks (E. Jenks), *Svod angliiskogo grazhdanskogo prava* (Code of English Civil Law), tr. by L. A. Luitsa. IURIZDAT. P.C. of Justice of the USSR, 1941, p. 19.

7. In a lengthy footnote the author cites instances in the civil codes of France, Switzerland and Germany which he considers come close to "the reactionary formulations of the Code Napoleon" in giving the father greater rights over the children than the mother. R. M.

To repeat, Tsarist marriage-family legislation was somewhat more archaically and artlessly expressed but was in content the usual bourgeois regulation, in no greater measure than in "civilized," "democratic" bourgeois countries given to insulting laws "on the inequality of women," "on privileges for men," "on affronting and humiliating women."⁸

Together with these provisions of family law which in one or another degree were related to all systems of bourgeois law, in Tsarist legislation there were also provisions which expressed relationships arising in still earlier, pre-bourgeois stages of social development. Pre-Revolutionary Russian law took under its protection the polygamy of those peoples among whom this phenomenon constituted a survival from tribal forms. The law also permitted marriage for minors among the peoples of the Caucasus, among nomadic peoples of eastern Siberia, and various other peoples.

AFTER ABDICATION OF THE TSAR

It would have seemed that the removal of the insulting inequality of woman which pervaded Tsarist family-marriage legislation and the liquidation of those vestiges of preceding social structures in which that legislation abounded, should have been regarded as an immediate task by the bourgeois democracy which came to power after the February Revolution with flowery slogans of various "freedoms" and all kinds of "equality." But the "revolutionaries" and the "democrats" of the Provisional Government, revealing themselves as "sorry playthings in the hands of people outside the Provisional Government,"⁹ did not undertake the solution of such tasks. In the words of Lenin, "cowards, clowns, self-enraptured Narcissists and Hamlets brandished cardboard dreams,"¹⁰ and for eight months their "administration" did not disturb a speck in the "Augean stables" of Tsarist legislation in general and of family-marriage legislation in particular.

The latter, even with the most minimal-reformist approach, would have required at least a reconstruction upon the basis of civil secular marriage. But secularization of marriage did not enter into the program of the Provisional Government. It is well known, for example, that the draft law "On Freedom of Conscience" drawn up in June, 1917, by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Provisional Government, did not include any provisions which would have given the state the same

8. Cf. Lenin, *Soch.* vol. XXIV, p. 518.

9. I. (J.) Stalin, *Soch.* vol. III, p. 369.

10. Lenin, *Soch.* vol. XXVII, p. 25

responsibility for registration of marriages as for any other acts of civil status.¹¹

In May, 1917, an attempt to "reform" the legislation on divorce was undertaken by the Provisional Government. A "special council" was created which was to work out a draft law. Made up of prominent bourgeois professors, doctors, and jurists, among them in particular the noted Kadet*, Professor Petrazhitskii, this council was headed by a representative of the Church (Archpriest Filonenko, member of the State Duma). The draft law which this council was to draw up was then to have been presented to the Ruling Synod for its scrutiny and promulgation in the name of the Provisional Government. For a period of two weeks the council diligently met and, finally, worked out a draft law "On Grounds for Divorce" which somewhat increased the number of grounds compared with the earlier situation, but which left totally untouched the system of ecclesiastical consistorial divorce procedure. However, even this curtailed reform in family law got lost somewhere in the departmental cubicles and just as matters had been under Tsarist legislation on marriage and family, so they remained right up to the October overturn.

THE SOVIET DECREES OF 1917

The cleansing "of the social relationships (customs, institutions) of the country from the Middle Ages, from serfdom, from feudalism"¹² was accomplished only by the Great October Socialist Revolution which performed this cleansing operation "on the march, by the way, as a 'by-product' of our major and genuine proletarian-revolutionary socialist work."¹³ Together with other remnants of feudalism—social hierarchy, manorial landownership, oppression of nationalities, etc., feudal survivals in the sphere of family law were removed by the Socialist Revolution in its very first decrees. "In about ten weeks, beginning with October 25 (November 7) 1917, and proceeding up to the dispersal of the members of the Constituent Assembly (January 5, 1918) we accomplished," said V. I. Lenin, "a thousand times more in this sphere than had the bourgeois democrats and liberals (Kadets)

* A member of the political party of Constitutional Democrats, in Russian, K. D.'s or Kadets. For the role played by this party in 1917, see Reed, John, *Ten Days That Shook the World* (Modern Library, New York), p. XIII, ff. R. M.

11. This project was published in the *Herald (Vestnik) of the Provisional Government*, 1917, No. 78; See also *News (Izvestia) of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies*, Jan. 15, 1917, No. 118.

12. Lenin, *Soch.*, vol. XXVII, p. 25.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

and petty-bourgeois democrats (Mensheviks and S.R.'s*) in the eight months they had held power."¹⁴

The December, 1917, decrees briefly but emphatically proclaimed the secularization of marriage: "The Russian Republic henceforth recognizes only civil marriage." They freed marriages from all limitations whatsoever in the matters of guardianship, religion, social hierarchy; to enter into marriage there no longer was required the permission of parents or superior officers** and the question of adhering to this or that religion*** had no significance whatever. Despite the slanderous insinuations and the heartrending screams emanating from all corners of the bourgeois press to the effect that the Bolsheviks introduced "nationalization of women," "abolition of marriage," "promiscuous sex relations," etc., etc., the decrees clearly and firmly proclaimed monogamy as the basis of Soviet marriage. Establishing the obligation of civil marriage, the decree provided also that individuals who were already married did not have to make any declaration at the Soviet ZAGS.****

The December decrees proclaimed full equality between men and women in the sphere of marriage and family, gave children born out of wedlock full equality with children born of married couples, and, liquidating "a source of bourgeois foulness, dejection, humiliation"¹⁵—namely the pre-Revolutionary divorce procedure, established free divorce. Such was, in essence, the content of these two first decrees promulgated by the Soviet power on marriage and divorce.

It is appropriate at this point to comment upon an interesting detail. The final adoption and publication of these decrees was preceded by the dissemination in the press of the draft of one of them. On November 21, 1917, that is, less than a month after the October Revolution, there was printed in issue No. 231 of the *Gazeta vremennogo rabochego i krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva****** "A draft Decree on

* For a description of the two political parties, Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, see Reed, John, *op. cit.*, pp. xv-xvii. R.M.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

** Arts. 6 and 9 in vol. X of the *Svod zakonov ros. imperii* had required the consent of parents, guardians, or trustees and in the case of those in military or civil service the consent of the superior officer or official. R. M.

*** Religious impediments to marriage under the Tsarist regime are set forth in Arts. 2, 37, 61, 67, 85, etc. of the *Svod zakonov ros. imperii*, vol. X. Marriage was forbidden between those of Russian Orthodox and of non-Christian faiths, between Protestants and Lamaists or heathens, etc. Where one spouse was to be of Russian Orthodox faith, the other had to pledge to rear the children in that faith, etc. R. M.

**** Registry Office; the word is made up of the initial letters of *Zapis' aktov grazhdanskogo sostoiniia* (Registration of acts of civil status). R. M.

15. Lenin, *Soch.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 285.

***** Gazette of the Provisional Government of Workers and Peasants. R. M.

Civil Marriage, on Children, and on the Introduction of Registry Books for Acts of Status." Wide discussion of these questions, of course, could not develop at that time—circumstances did not permit it.^{16*} But the publication of the draft decree on marriage in the yellowed pages of newspapers of that day laid the basis for a kind of tradition, by virtue of which the most important laws proposed in the field of family law are regularly published. Thus, in 1925 there was given over for wide discussion by the working masses the draft of the Code of Laws on Marriage, Family and Guardianship¹⁷ at present in effect, and in 1936 the draft law on prohibiting abortions was given over to similarly wide discussion.¹⁸

At the third session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in February, 1947, reference was made to the fact that "in contrast to the customs of bourgeois society where the preparation of laws proceeds hidden from the toiling masses, somewhere backstage behind parliamentary screens, the preparation and working over of Soviet laws bears a public, open character, and proceeds with the active participation of the working people themselves."¹⁹ The custom of preliminary discussion of the most important laws in the field of Soviet family law is a striking instance of this conception.**

16. Some discussion of that decree did take place on December 12, 1917 at the meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTSIK). Cf. Proceedings of the Meeting of VTSIK, second sitting, 1918, p. 142 ff.

* The reference here is probably to the chaos in communication at the time as well as to the large number of important decrees issued in those early months on a great many subjects. Cf. *Istoriia sovetskoi konstitutsii v dekretakh i postanovleniakh sovetskogo pravitel'stva 1917-1936* (Moscow, 1936) (The History of the Soviet Constitution as Shown in the Decrees and Orders of the Soviet Government from 1917 to 1936). R. M.

17. The session of VTSIK which took place in October, 1925, accepted as a starting point the draft prepared by the People's Commissariat of Justice, but delayed final adoption until the next session, in order that, as M. I. Kalinin put it at the meeting, it might in the intervening period be worked over by the broad worker-peasant masses of all nationalities in the R.S.F.S.R.: "so that on the basis of this examination there might take place a final crystalization and the emergence of a legislative act which will be adopted at the next session." (VTSIK, Second Session, 12th sitting. Stenographic Report, Moscow, 1925, p. 605).

18. The Decision of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, May 25, 1936 "on transmitting the law on abortion for discussion among the working people" declared: "In view of the exceptional importance of this question and the interest in it among large groups of the population, a decision has been made: before adoption of the given draft law by the legislative organs, it is to be transmitted for wide discussion among the working people." (*Izvestia* TSIK of May 26, 1936, No. 121.)

19. Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Third Session. Stenographic Report, 1947, p. 367. Speech of Deputy P. K. Ponomarenko.

** There have been some notable exceptions. The important decree of July 8, 1944 which G. M. Sverdlov discusses later on in his article received little or no public consideration before its adoption, nor did the decree of November 25, 1947 which decreased the amount of state aid established by the 1944 decree. (For the text

The decrees of December, 1917, effected the initial cleansing work in the sphere of marriage and family relationships without which it would have been impossible to enter upon the creation of a new socialist family. They delineated at the same time the basic contours of the regulation of this new family. But they did not give, and obviously at that time could not give, the answer to those numerous concrete legal questions which were inescapably to arise in the course of putting into practice the principles of the new socialist law.

THE 1918 CODE

This was done by the 1918 Code adopted at the meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTSIK) during its fifth sitting.²⁰ The first code of laws concerning acts of civil status, marriage, and family and guardianship rights was not only the first codification of our family legislation but was in general the first Soviet code of laws. It was the first attempt "to reckon up our creative work in order to effect a further impulse forward. . . in this creative work. . ." ²¹ It was not only a codification of the laws which entered into it, but a generalization of the practices of judicial organs and of ZAGS which had already reached some magnitude by that time. (This circumstance was pointed out at the session of VTSIK in a report rendered by Comrade Kurskii.)

What did this Code bring that was new compared with the 1917 decrees? First of all it decided negatively the question, important from both the theoretical and practical viewpoints, as to whether the new law which acknowledged only civil marriage had retroactive force. Marriages, concluded before the publication of the new revolutionary laws, were treated as identical with registered marriages (footnote to Article 52).

The question of religious marriages concluded after the Revolution was formulated differently than in the 1917 decree. Avoiding repetition of the vague and incomplete formulation of the 1917 decree to the effect that "church marriage. . . is the private affair of those getting married," the Code attaches to the question of religious marriages a strictly determined juridical form and declares most categorically: "religious marriage gives rise to no rights or obligations whatsoever for individuals entering into it."

of these decrees, cf. *The American Review on the Soviet Union*, November, 1944, and *ibid.*, March, 1948.) R. M.

20. *Sobr. zakon.*, 1918, No. 76, p. 818.

21. Fifth sitting of VTSIK. Stenographic Report, 1919, p. 145.

The very first phrase of the 1917 decree declared that "The Russian Republic henceforth recognizes only civil marriage." It is interesting to comment here upon the fate of that provision. During the discussion of the draft of this law at the meeting of VTSIK on December 12, 1917 there were introduced some proposals which sought, it would appear, to limit the recognition of civil marriage by not attaching to it the significance of being the exclusive and single form of marriage recognized by the State. It was proposed to omit the word "only" in the sentence cited above. This "editorial" correction, excluding only one little word, was conceived evidently as a means of defining the relationship of the Soviet State to the form of marriage along the lines of that found in a number of bourgeois countries, in which the secularization of marriage dwells harmoniously side by side with the juridical recognition of church marriages (as in England, for example) and in which civil and religious forms of marriage are optional and equally effective juridically.

This correction was rejected by VTSIK,²² and the view that only civil marriage is recognized and no other, remained in all its force.

The 1918 Code formulated this provision somewhat differently. In Par. 52 it pointed out that "only civil (secular) marriage, registered in the bureau of ZAGS, confers the rights and obligations of spouses. . ." In this formulation there was emphasized, with greater force and expressiveness than in the 1917 decree, the organic connection established by the legislator between the concepts of civil marriage and registration. Without registration there is no marriage—this is the absolutely clear, straightforward position taken in this Code. Hence those provisions of the Code which speak not of "putting the marriage into official form" at ZAGS, as the subsequent Code of 1926 was to do, but of the organs of ZAGS "concluding" the marriage. (Pars. 53, 54, 55, 57, etc.) Hence also those provisions attaching to the marriage registration itself the significance of a right-conferring act.²³ And hence too, inasmuch as right-forming significance was attached to the act of registration, a need arose for special provisions which would point out the procedure and the reason for halting the juridical effect of this registration if the marriage was performed in violation of the law. We find in this Code a detailed working out of a section "On

22. Cf. Proceedings of the Meeting of VTSIK, first sitting, 1918, pp. 142, 143.

23. "Having made a record of the marriage . . . the person in charge reads it to the couple and declares that the marriage has by force of law been concluded." (Art. 60). "The marriage is considered to be concluded from the moment a record is made of it in the marriage registry book." (Art. 62).

the Invalidity of Marriage" and on the procedure for recognizing this invalidity.

A more detailed elaboration of the question of rights and obligations of spouses is to be found in this Code than in the 1917 decrees. In our family law there were for the first time introduced provisions to the effect that a change of dwelling place by one spouse does not create an obligation on the part of the other to follow after, that marriage does not create a community of property between spouses, that spouses may enter between themselves into all property-contract relationships permissible by law. The idea of the woman's equal rights with the man in marriage and in the family has steadily become more profound and substantial. In this connection the following detail is of some interest. The 1917 decree, among the obligations incumbent upon marriage, made mention of the obligation of the husband to support his incapacitated wife. The 1918 Code no longer spoke of a one-sided obligation of the husband towards the wife. Proceeding along the path of consistent establishment of equality between men and women, it declares that "the needy (i.e., not having a subsistence minimum and incapable of working) spouse has the right to receive support from the other spouse if the latter is in a position to give it."

In the 1918 Code the question of establishing fatherhood was regulated in detail, and the question of the rights and obligations of parents and children was worked out thoroughly, in any case much more fully than in the 1917 decrees. The idea of woman's equal rights also received expression in the establishment of equal rights for the mother and the father. It was declared that "parental rights are held by the parents jointly," and that "where parents disagree, the argument is to be resolved, with the parents' assistance, by a local court." This provision of the Code as well as several others "took issue" with centuries-old ideas of bourgeois law which never missed an opportunity to emphasize the father's priority in everything concerning the children.

In our legislation the concept was for the first time expressed that parental rights are subordinate to the interests of the children: "Parental rights are to be exercised exclusively in the children's interest and the court has the right to deprive parents of these rights where they are abused."

Also for the first time in our law there was established the contrary obligation on the part of children "to give support to parents who are deprived of ability to work and who are in need."

It is necessary to note that in the 1918 Code there was for the

first time formulated the subsidiary obligation of paying alimony to needy and incapacitated relatives along ascending and descending lines and to brothers and sisters. (Subsidiary in the sense that it arises only in case the given individuals have no possibility of receiving support from their parents, children or spouses.) Thus the 1918 Code gave a broader meaning to what constitutes a family, not limiting it only to spouses, parents and children.

Finally, let us note that the 1918 Code for the first time after the October Revolution regularized the questions of guardianship. The decree of November 10, 1917 on the abolition of social hierarchy and civil ranks²⁴ did away with the pre-Revolutionary institutions of guardianship along with other class institutions, but no new guardianship institutions were established at all. The 1918 Code defined the principles and the concrete forms of Soviet guardianship.

BACKGROUND OF THE 1926 CODE

The transition to the New Economic Policy* placed upon the agenda the question of a detailed examination of the laws on marriage and family published in the first months after the October Revolution, and of certain changes in these laws towards a further strengthening of the defense of women's and children's rights in the family.

Most important at that time was the issue concerning the form of marriage, the legal significance of marriage registration.

The very pronounced emphasis upon the marriage registration in the ZAGS bureau as that kind of act connected with the creation of marital rights and obligations, possessed, at the time when our first family legislation was adopted (1917-1918), a quite specific character. This pointed question of marriage registration arose from the necessity of setting off civil, secular marriage against church marriage, which was at that time still the predominant form of marriage, particularly in the village. Well-known are the words of V. I. Lenin spoken at the Conference of Women Workers on November 19, 1918: "In our cities and factory-plant settlements this law on complete liberty of marriage is taking on satisfactorily but in the village it very frequent-

24. *Code of Legal Enactments* (SU), No. 3, p. 31.

* Commonly referred to as NEP, it marked a new period (1921-1927) in Soviet development and brought to a close the initial period known as War Communism (1918-1921). NEP opened some of the country's economy to private enterprise and was termed by Lenin "a strategic retreat" which would last only until the war-devastated production facilities had been restored: "out of NEP Russia there will come Socialist Russia." *cf.* *Politicheskii slovar'* (Political Dictionary), 1940, pp. 376-377. The third period of Soviet development began in 1928, with the first Five Year Plan. R.M.

ly remains on paper. There church marriage still prevails."²⁵ This was said at the very time, the autumn of 1918, when the Code was adopted. One of the means of strengthening the position of civil marriage in the struggle against religious influence on family relations were those provisions of our 1917-1918 legislation which placed the civil marriage concluded in ZAGS, as a counterweight to church marriage, under the special protection of the law.

But this sharply-posed question of the consequences of marriage registration was solved, in passing, by another question which did not at that period possess such real significance as it was to acquire subsequently. The timing of legal consequences with the registration of marriage had a negative effect upon the problem of the legal consequences of so-called factual marriage; according to the 1918 Code, factual marriage had no protection whatever, created no rights or obligations at all. And of course there could be no other approach to factual marriage at that period. Any recognition or protection of any consequences whatever attaching to factual, unregistered marriage relations at a time when a sharp struggle was going on in behalf of civil marriage, would have meant in essence that the new law was putting itself along the path of recognizing religious marriages. This would have been going counter to one of the fundamental tasks of the Code—to facilitate liberating marriage from religious influence. Naturally the Code could not take that path.

The issue, however, of some kind of protection for unregistered marriage relations soon came to life in a fairly stringent form. Giving legal effect only to registered marriage achieved its affirmative goal of aiding in the weakening of religious influence. But, at the same time, such a system reacted negatively during the period in question upon the interests of women among the working strata of the population. The economic disorder after the Imperialist War and the Civil War, the economic difficulties of the first years of the New Economic Policy, unemployment, the lack as yet of a high material standard of living, often placed the working woman in a difficult, decidedly dependent position in relation to the side that was economically more powerful. "Marriages for a time," quite widely practised in the first years of NEP among kulak and Nepman circles, so-called "seasonal marriages," openly exploiting women, admitting them into farms as "factual wives" with the premeditated intention of avoiding the definite obligations of registered marriage—all these phenomena could not, to be sure, fail to attract the attention of the Party, the Govern-

25. Lenin, *Soch.*, v. XXIII, p. 285.

ment, and the broad Soviet public. In the press, at meetings, with ever greater frequency voices were heard calling for the extension of legal protection to factual marriage too.

This trend of thought was furthered also by the significant results being achieved at that time in the matter of strengthening the foundations of the new way of life, in the matter of civil secular marriage. In October, 1925, at the 12th sitting of the Second Session of VTSIK there were presented, for example, data from the Moscow ZAGS, according to which 71 per cent of marriages were concluded without church ceremonies.²⁶ Of course, these data concerned Moscow, the most advanced proletarian center, and undoubtedly the figures were quite different in the village. Nonetheless, all in all, there was little question that, at the time when the issue arose sharply of the need to guard the interests of women suffering harm from the defenselessness of factual marriage relationships, a decisive role could no longer be played by the consideration that the protection of unregistered marriage might strengthen church influence.

Around the question of the significance of marriage registration, whether or not it was necessary to defend factual marriage, a heated discussion flared up. It had begun long before November, 1926, when the Third Session of VTSIK in its 12th sitting, discussed the final draft of the Code. Thus, for example, already four years previous to this, in October, 1922, at the Fourth Session of VTSIK in its 9th sitting, when the draft Civil Code of the RSFSR was debated, a question was raised about examining the 1918 family code, and one of the arguments advanced in the discussion was the consideration that recognition of factual marriage was a necessity.²⁷

Thereafter for several years the issue relating to factual marriage, among other problems of family law, never disappeared from the pages

26. Second Session of VTSIK, 12th sitting, Stenographic Report, Moscow, 1925, p. 224.

27. Cf. Fourth Session of VTSIK, 9th sitting, Stenographic Report, Moscow, 1922, p. 14. Let us note here, by the way, one of the attendant circumstances. In the course of the discussion of the Civil Code of the RSFSR at the meeting of this Session, a motion was made not only to change the family code in essence but to unite the family code with the civil code so that to the latter there might be added a section on family law. Several orators held forth on this, citing in particular, the practice of foreign legislation which "from time immemorial" made up civil law out of five parts: general, property, obligations, inheritance, and family (*cf.* the Report mentioned, pp. 12, 14, and 15). However, these orators did not convince the Session of the necessity for joining the Codes, and the Session adopted the Civil Code without a section on family law and included, as is known, Par. 3 in the Civil Code declaring that "family relationships are regulated by a special code." This detail again attests to the fact that the existence amongst us of a separate branch of family legislation is not something accidental, as it is sometimes described in our literature.

of the newspapers and magazines and from the agenda of every kind of meeting and discussion, until finally, after warm and lengthy debate at the Third Session of VTSIK, 12th sitting, on November 19, 1926, the point of view favoring legal recognition of factual marriage won out.

THE 1926 CODE

According to the precise terms of the RSFSR Code of 1926, equalization of factual marriage relations with registered ones did not take place in all matters. It intended mutuality only in alimony-payment by spouses and in matters connected with property earned during marriage. But judicial practice and further legislation proceeded in the direction of complete equalization in every respect between factual and registered marriage.

The 1926 Code gave a new answer not only to the question of the form of marriage but to a whole series of other basic questions.

Thus, a substantial alteration was introduced in the matter of marital age. Compared with the 1918 Code the marital age of women was raised (from 16 in the 1918 Code) to 18 years. There was also a change in the regulation of property relationships between spouses. The 1918 Code had established complete separation of property of husband and wife, with Par. 105 declaring: "Marriage does not create a community of property between the spouses." This provision was sharply opposed to the inequality of women's rights, was against the bourgeois idea of the husband's supremacy in respect to the property relationships of the spouses. But it was soon clear that this regulation was inadequate inasmuch as the declaration of this principle alone not infrequently injured the interests of the working woman by unjustly depriving her of rights to property earned by the spouses during the marriage.

This was corrected in the 1926 Code, in Par. 10, according to which "property, belonging to the spouses before entering into marriage, remains their separate property. Property, earned by the spouses during the marriage, is considered their joint property."

A change was also made in the regulation of alimony-payment by the spouses. The 1918 Code did not limit to a specific period the obligation to pay alimony to a spouse after the termination of marriage, and alimony could be exacted even for a lifetime after a divorce. The 1926 Code did away with the possibility of lifelong alimony, limiting the alimony period to one year after the termination of marriage.

The interrelationships of parents and children were outlined some-

what more fully and in detail in the new Code. Divorce procedure was altered. According to the 1918 Code, divorce was effected in a court, and where the divorce was sought by both parties, it could be completed outside the court, by an organ of ZAGS. The 1926 Code abolished judicial procedure in divorce and established in all instances a registration procedure to be undergone at ZAGS.

ADOPTION

Let us consider, too, the question of adoption. As it is known, the 1918 Code did not permit adoption. Adoption, it declared in Par. 183, added after the publication of the Code, "does not confer any obligations or rights whatever for the adopter or the adopted." How can the negative attitude of the 1918 Code toward this institution be explained?

It is necessary to recall the situation in 1918 when the Code was adopted. This was a period when "petty bourgeois elements in the economy predominated in the country. Millions of small owners in city and village were the soil for the growth of capitalism. These small owners did not recognize either labor or government discipline nor did they submit to any accounting or control. At that difficult moment a special danger was presented by the petty bourgeois elements of speculation and commercialism and the attempts of small owners and tradesmen to profit from the people's need."²⁸

Such a situation could not, obviously, fail to influence the solution of the given question. At that time there were well-grounded and wholly real dangers that the institution of adoption would be used by "petty bourgeois elements" to exploit the labor of those adopted—the waifs, orphans, children of the poor, of farm laborers and workers—"to profit from the people's need." It is necessary to consider, too, that at the time Soviet guardianship bodies did not exist at all in many localities and where they did function were still too weak and inexperienced to assure the appropriate State control over each instance of adoption.

There were still other considerations which played a part in the 1918 Code's prohibiting of adoption. At the moment of its publication there was already in effect the 1918 law of the abolition of inheritance.²⁹ There was a wholly real danger that petty bourgeois elements among the numerous "small owners," not submitting "to any account-

28. *Kratkii kurs istorii VKP (b)* (Short Course in the History of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Soviet Union), p. 211.

29. *Sobr. zakon.*, 1918, No. 34, p. 456.

ing or control," would use the institution of adoption to escape from this law too.

From the foregoing it is evident that the rejection of adoption was for us connected with the conditions of class struggle in the first years of the Revolution, with the alignment of class forces in that period. But from all this there hardly follows anything like the incompatibility in principle between the institution of adoption with the system of socialist law, as was fancied at one time in our literature. On the contrary, from what has been said, only the opposite conclusion could be reached, that of the temporary character of the 1918 Code's prohibition of adoption. And, indeed, with the let-up of conditions of class-struggle in the first period of the Revolution, which had hindered the introduction of this institution into life, it received a luxuriant development in Soviet law.

The 1926 Code already contained a whole extensive chapter on "Adoption" (Pars. 57-67), put into effect even before the Code as a whole was adopted.³⁰

Such then, basically, was what the 1926 Code brought that was new compared with the 1918 Code.*

LEGISLATION IN THE CONSTITUENT REPUBLICS

We do not have the opportunity here to dwell in detail on the development of marriage-family legislation in all the republics. The comparative study of the legislation of all the union republics is a subject of independent research in which the leading roles would, we hope, be played by the scientific workers of these republics.** Let us say only in general that the 1918 Code was the model, in the beginning, for all the other union republics. In several of these republics the new Soviet standards had to cope not only with bourgeois relationships in the sphere of family and marriage but also with relationships of still earlier formations—with survivals of tribal ways of life mani-

30. Cf. Decree of March 1, 1926—*Sobr. uzakon.*, 1926, No. 13, Par. 101.

* Readers who wish to consult the detailed provision of these Codes will find several editions in Russian and in English in the library of The American Russian Institute. The 1926 Code was formerly available in English in two editions (*The Soviet Law on Marriage*, Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow, 1932 and *The Soviet Law on Marriage*, International Publishers, New York, 1933); both are now out of print. The English text of some of the articles in the 1918 and 1926 Codes, together with annotations can be consulted in *Materials on Soviet Law* (mimeographed) compiled by J. N. Hazard, Columbia University. R. M.

** "Scientific worker" is a term used generally in Soviet parlance to denote those trained in the social sciences, as well as those in the natural science fields. Lawyers and historians in the Ukrainian, Armenian, Tadzhik, Latvian and others of the 16 republics of the U.S.S.R. are the ones the author would seem to have in mind. R. M.

fested in every kind of ancient custom—*kalym*,* polygamy, marriage of minors, etc. These special situations were expressed in some detail in the family-marriage laws of several republics. But the basic questions of marriage-family relationships were solved in all the republics along the lines of the RSFSR's 1918 Code. Thus, in the first stage of the development of this branch of legislation in the union republics there was, more or less, uniformity.

But with the year 1926, changes began in the family-marriage legislation not only of the RSFSR but in all the other republics. In 1926-28 new family codes were published in the Ukraine, in Belorussia, in Azerbaidzhan, in Armenia, in Uzbekistan; in 1930 in Georgia, and in 1935 in Turkmenia.³¹ With the publication of the new codes in the Soviet union republics, there began a significant divergence in the legislation of the republics which has many times been cited in our literature. To be sure, there was no divergence in what was basic and important—the liberating ideas which the Great October Socialist Revolution brought with it consistently found clear expression in all the republics' legislation. The family-law equality of woman, as a wife and as a mother, both in personal and in property relationships, the secular and free character of marriage, State protection of children's rights—all these principles of Soviet legislation in the field of marriage and family lay at the basis of all the Republic codes.** Nonetheless in the legislation of the union republics there can be detected divergences in matters which are of some importance in practice (certain rights and obligations attendant upon marriage, the marital age, eligibility for alimony, etc.). Many of these divergences were indeed determined by peculiarities of the economy, climate, national character; the reasonableness and necessity of the existence of others are subject to doubt.

* * *

* Payment made in purchase of a bride; wife purchase was legal under the Tsars in areas where it was customary, as in Central Asia and parts of the Caucasus. R. M.

31. In Kirgizia, Kazakhstan, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the Karelo-Finnish SSR, in accordance with the decision of the Governments of these Republics, the Code of the RSFSR is applied. On the territory of the Moldavian SSR, the Code of the Ukraine is temporarily being applied.

** It is of interest to compare these principles with those adopted at the United Nations Economic and Social Council's Commission on the Status of Women, February, 1947: "Full equality of women to exercise all civil rights, irrespective of nationality, race, language, or religion, including among others: 1) *Marriage*. Freedom of choice, dignity of the wife, monogamy, equal right to dissolution of marriage . . ." (*cf. Document E/281/Rev. 1*, 15 March, 1947, p. 10). R. M.

THE 1936 LEGISLATION

Ten years then elapsed after the adoption of the RSFSR Code of Laws on Marriage, Family, and Guardianship. In that time the country achieved decisive successes in the construction of socialism.³² In the new circumstances it appeared possible and necessary to raise in all its fullness the question of strengthening the family as a social unit, which in the conditions of socialism is capable of fulfilling highly useful social functions. With the appearance of a material base for the strengthening of the family, the deeper and more firmly was there fixed in the consciousness of the masses an intolerant attitude toward petty bourgeois dissoluteness in the interrelations of men and women, toward lightminded approaches to children, to the family, to family obligations.

"... In connection with the growth of well-being among the masses of the people"—we read in the *Kratkii kurs istorii VKP (b)* (Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), in the pages bearing on the period in question—"the Government published a law prohibiting abortions."³³ Together with forbidding abortion, the decree of the TSIK and of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR on June 27, 1936³⁴ considerably broadened the material base of the protection of motherhood and childhood, introducing for the first time State aid to mothers of large families and effecting important changes in the legislative regulation of a number of questions concerning marriage and family, directed towards raising the degree of responsibility for alimony and towards suppressing lightminded divorces. As was pointed out in this law itself, changes in the legislation on marriage were dictated by the goal of "struggle against light-minded attitudes towards the family and family responsibilities."*

32. "By 1936 the economy of the USSR had completely changed. By that time capitalist elements had been wholly liquidated—the victory of the socialist system had been achieved in all spheres of the national economy. . . . The exploitation of man by man had been destroyed forever. Public, social ownership in the means of production had been affirmed as the immovable base of the new social structure in all branches of the national economy. In the new socialist society there have disappeared forever crises, poverty, unemployment, and waste. There were created the conditions for a well-to-do and cultured life for all members of Soviet society." *Kratkii kurs istorii VKP (b)* p. 327.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 325.

34. *Sobr. uzakon.*, 1936, No. 34, p. 309.

* For a discussion of the provisions of the 1936 law, cf. Maurer, Rose, "Recent Trends in the Soviet Family," *The American Sociological Review*, June, 1944.

WARTIME AND POSTWAR LEGISLATION

The perfidious attack by fascism upon the Soviet Union destroyed the peaceful socialist construction and brought enormous injury to millions of Soviet families. But already in the course of the war, when guns still roared on the battlefronts, when a bitter fight still continued on the soil of Belorussia and the Ukraine, our people, Government, and Party, never doubting for a minute the coming victory, entered upon the solution of a series of problems connected with postwar peaceful socialist construction. Among these problems, one of the foremost was that of further strengthening the family. There then came the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of July 8, 1944 which must appear in the history of the Soviet State as one of its outstanding legislative acts.

The presence in this decree of the goal of strengthening the family does not need proof by way of any special analysis of its provisions, or any synthetic searching through the content of its phrases. This goal was formulated in the text of the decree itself as one of its foremost ideas. Let us recall the introductory words of this legislative act: "Concern for children and mothers and for strengthening the family has always been one of the most important tasks of the Soviet State. Protecting the interests of mother and child, the State gives great material aid to pregnant women and to mothers for the support and upbringing of children. During wartime and afterwards, when for many families material difficulties are more considerable, a further widening of measures of State aid is needed."³⁵

This "concern for children and mothers and for strengthening the family" took the form first of all in vastly widening the material base and the legal guaranties in the sphere of mother and child protection.

There was an important increase in State Aid in the form of assistance to the large family, which we had first introduced back in 1936. This increase expressed itself not only in larger sums for every kind of aid but in lowering the number of children prerequisite to such aid, it permitted many more women to receive this aid. Payments now began after the birth of the third child whereas earlier they began with the seventh. The changes brought the aid closer to the vital needs of the family—there was an increased dependence of the sum of aid upon the

35. The Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of July, 8, 1944 "On increasing State Aid to pregnant women, to mothers of many children, and to single mothers, on strengthening the protection of motherhood and childhood, on establishing the honorary title of "Mother Heroine," the Order of "Glory of Motherhood," and the "Motherhood Medal." (*Vedomosti verkhovnogo soveta SSSR*, No. 37, July 16, 1944.)

number of children and a simplification of the very method of distribution of aid, with the establishment not only of one-time aid—for a year—but monthly payments as well. State aid to single mothers was introduced, payable at the birth of the very first child, with rights granted the mother to place the child in a State children's institution wholly at the State's expense. There were also introduced new work guarantees for expectant and nursing mothers.

Expressing the honor and respect with which the Soviet country surrounds motherhood, the decree introduced badges of high honor for mothers bearing and raising a certain number of children.

But "concern for children and mothers and for strengthening the family" also led the legislators to essential changes in earlier legislation in the matter of legal regulation of relationships in marriage and the family. These changes were related to the following three issues: on the legal significance of marriage registration, on forms of aiding single mothers and their children, and on divorce.

MARRIAGE REGISTRATION

As we saw above, our legislation prior to the publication of the July 8, 1944 decree had known two decisions on the problem of marriage registration: one, established by the RSFSR Code of 1918, gave it exclusive significance; the other, which remained in effect in the codes of several union republics up to the publication of the July 8, 1944 decree, brought the legal significance of registration down to a minimum. But both these decisions were the result of the specific historical circumstances in accordance with which they were adopted. In the one case this decision depended upon the then sharply posed historical task of surmounting the church's influence upon marriage; in the other the task of protecting women from the exploitation which, under conditions of a certain revival of capitalist elements in the years of NEP, it was their lot to know. In themselves these tasks were at the given time very important and acute. But it is not difficult to see in the perspective of the whole movement of the country toward socialism that these tasks were temporary, transitory. The liquidation of the last remnants of capitalist classes, the mass introduction of woman into socially productive work and successes in the sphere of her factual liberation, the higher level of the cultural and moral demands made by the country upon each individual, particularly in questions of the family—all those achievements of the country on the path towards socialism permitted a different posing of the question concerning the relation of the State to so-called factual marriage. Those

conditions which were at one time the basis for retaining it, fell away. Entering into factual unregistered relationships now, in the new living conditions of the country, no longer appears to be in the slightest degree necessary.

Meanwhile the system of obligatory registration of marriage, the system according to which the marriage registration acquires constitutive right-forming significance, gives the State an opportunity to put its active influence upon relationships of daily life on the side of the further strengthening of socialist principles, on the side of the further strengthening of the family.³⁶ And inasmuch as there are no reasons for declining to use this opportunity, such reasons as existed at an earlier stage of social construction, the State has introduced on the whole territory of the USSR the principle, by force of which, "only registered marriage confers the rights and obligations of spouses." (Art. 19 of the Decree).

DIVORCE

Closely connected with the question of marriage registration there are the changes introduced by the July 8, 1944 decree into the question of divorce. As in the matter of concluding marriage, the State seeks to assure here, too, the possibility of its active influence upon marriage relationships in order to prevent their lightminded curtailment. If earlier, prior to the July 8, 1944 decree, the role of the State in divorce was limited to the passive act of registration, now the wish of one or even both parties to be divorced must coincide with the State's recognition of the necessity to dissolve the marriage. A marriage is dissolved now, as the July 8, 1944 decree in Par. 26 declares, only "... in case of recognition of necessity to dissolve the marriage." Judicial procedure has been established introducing two stages of court examination (conciliatory examination in the People's Court and decision of the question of divorce in the next higher court), obligatory indication by the parties and clarification by the Court of the motives for the divorce, the introduction of witnesses into the examination of the matter, publicity in getting the matter started, higher costs connected with divorce. In no way introducing indissolubility of marriage, leaving in force the principle of freedom of divorce, permitting divorce if there are serious reasons for it, the State introduced certain restraints in order to prevent

36. It is known that the protection of factual marriages sometimes facilitates the destruction of the principle of monogamy, leads to splitting of the family, to undesirable lawsuits and conflicts (of such kind as investigations concerning alimony or property earned during marriage, etc. brought by several individuals).

the misuse of freedom in this question, to prevent groundless divorce.*

Thus, just as in the matter of marriage registration, the new divorce procedure also means a strengthening of the cultural-educational influence of the socialist State upon daily relationships in the direction of strengthening the socialist principles.

PROTECTION OF UNMARRIED MOTHER AND HER CHILD

And, finally, the July 8, 1944 decree brought basic changes in the matter of caring for the single mother and her children. Revoking the earlier right of the mother to enter a suit to establish paternity and to exact alimony for the support of a child born of an individual with whom she did not have a registered marriage, the Decree simultaneously increased considerably State aid to the single mother and established for her (beginning with the first child**) the right to receive State aid or to place the child in a children's institution wholly at State expense. The decree also provided for the criminal prosecution of those offending and lowering the dignity of a woman as mother, including therein the single mother (Par. 31 of the Decree).

Freeing the single mother from what is often a burdensome situation for her—to establish paternity and sue for alimony—and giving

* A sharp decrease in the number of divorces has been reported. One example given is Kemerovo oblast where between July 9, 1944 and February 1, 1946 the number fell eleven times compared with the same period prior to the 1944 decree. (*Sots. Zakonnost'*, No. 6, 1946, p. 29). The several cases cited in law journals indicate extensive efforts on the part of the courts to reconcile the parties, including such devices as securing job transfers, interviewing friends and relatives, etc. In one effort to level out a triangle, "the court discussed the matter with _____ and asked that he leave the family in peace." (*ibid.*, p. 30). However, there is criticism as well as praise of the courts in their handling of divorce problems. Professor Orlovskii is reported to have declared at a Scientific Session held by the Moscow Juridical Institute that the courts err most in insufficient clarification of the motives for the divorce, consequently granting or refusing a suit incorrectly (*ibid.*, No. 9, 1946, p. 22). The 1944 law does not specify grounds for divorce (but the November 27, 1944 procedural instructions call for the listing of grounds by the plaintiffs themselves intimating any grounds may be listed; certain grounds, however, are listed for purposes of indicating exemption from payment of sums from 500-2,000 rubles as well as exemption from the requirement that a public notice be put in the local newspaper and these are: a court sentence depriving either spouse of his or her liberty for no less than three years, either spouse being lost at the front, the absence with no news of either spouse, chronic insanity or other psychological disorders); the court decides each case on its merits. Among the grounds specified in cases heard so far, according to Prof. Orlovskii, are the following: jealousy, incurable disease, violation of marital fidelity, desertion, long prison sentence, frequent quarrels, lack of mutual love, incompatibility of personality. R. M.

** For married mothers, a monthly allowance begins with the birth of a fourth child, although a lump-sum grant is given at the birth of the third child too. *cf.* Text of July 8, 1944 decree in *The American Review on the Soviet Union*, November, 1944, and the text of the November 25, 1947 decree lowering the amounts of aid, in *ibid.*, March, 1948. R. M.

her aid in raising the child, the State at the same time creates for the child, too, a more normal situation, no longer leaving him dependent upon the possible hazards attendant upon judicial efforts to establish paternity.

This new posing of the issue results from the necessity of effectively assuring the interests of the children of the single mother, from the necessity of creating favorable conditions to enable such children to grow up to be healthy and worthy persons.

Owing to the necessity of lending strength in every way to a stable, friendly family, created on the basis of a registered marriage, the Decree thus at the same time does everything possible to provide the material and moral support needed by the child born out of wedlock and by his mother.

A series of important provisions concerning the procedure for implementing the July 8, 1944 Decree in relation to those children whose parents are not in a registered marriage, are contained in the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of March 14, 1945.³⁷ By this decree there was introduced, too, an important provision permitting such parents by means of marriage and acknowledgment of paternity to equalize the children of the single mother with those born in the marriage (Pari 3).

* * *

INCREASING THE FEDERAL ROLE IN FAMILY LEGISLATION

As we saw above, our legislation, beginning in 1936, entered upon the path of regulating marriage-family relationships on a countrywide scale. Besides those laws already mentioned, such as the decree of June 27, 1936 and the decrees of July 8, 1944 and March 15, 1945, there may be cited also the USSR decrees of September 8, 1943 "On adoption"³⁸ and of November 10, 1944 "On procedure in recognition of factual marriage relations in case one of the spouses is dead or missing at the Front,"³⁹ as well as the decree of November 29, 1944 approving instructions of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the USSR "On court procedure in examination of cases concerning dissolution of marriage."⁴⁰

The closest connections with questions of family law are to be found also in such federal statutes as those approved by the Council

37. *Vedomosti verkhovnogo soveta, SSSR*, No. 15, 1947.

38. *ibid.*, No. 34, 1943.

39. *ibid.*, No. 60, 1944.

40. Code of Laws on Marriage, Family, and Guardianship, *Iurizdat*, 1947, p. 81.

of People's Commissars of the USSR on August 18, 1944 "On regulation of procedure in the designation and payment of State aids and in the allowance of privileges to pregnant women, to mothers of many children, and to single mothers,"⁴¹ and the decree of November 14, 1945 "On inheritors according to law and according to testament."⁴²

This tendency towards unification of legal standards in such an important area of social life as the family is wholly natural and in conformance with principle. At the Third Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in a discussion of the establishment of a Commission of Legislative Proposals, it was quite correctly pointed out that "the likeness of the social-economic and political principles in all republics of our Soviet Union assures and urgently demands a likeness of legal norms, based on those principles."⁴³

Citing the legislative practice of the Soviet Union which "is familiar with the publication of certain laws on marriage and the family having a guiding meaning for the legislation of all the union republics," the Editorial Commission when introducing additions to and changes in the text of the Constitution of the USSR, as it is known, proposed to the aforementioned Session of the Supreme Soviet to place within the province of the USSR the establishment of principles of legislation on marriage and the family.⁴⁴

This proposal was adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and at the present time Par. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR contains an instruction that there also lies within the province of the USSR "the establishment of principles of legislation on marriage and the family."^{45*}

The constitutional strengthening of the practice of countrywide legislative regulation of marriage and the family once more testifies to the vast State significance attached by us to this sphere of social relationships.

Facing the federal "Principles of Legislation on Marriage and

41. *Sobr. post. i raspor. Prav. SSSR*, 1944, No. 11, Par. 162.

42. *Vedomosti verkhovnogo soveta SSSR*, No. 15, 1945.

43. Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Third Session. Stenographic Report, 1947, p. 331. Remarks of Deputy G. V. Perov.

44. *Ibid.*, cf. Remarks of the Chairman of the Editorial Commission, Deputy A. Vyshinskii, p. 314.

45. Par. 2 of the Law on Changes in and Additions to the Text of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the USSR of February 25, 1947 (*Vedomosti verkhovnogo soveta SSSR*, March 6, 1947, No. 8).

* Federal establishment of norms in various other fields (labor legislation, education, public health, land tenure) had already been provided for in Par. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR. R. M.

the Family," the publication of which, incidentally, is not to be deferred,⁴⁶ there stands the agreeable task of expressing in legal language the legislative norms of those great Leninist-Stalinist ideas of liberation and construction which have inspired Soviet family law throughout its honored history, and which today, just as thirty years ago, continue to inspire it.

46. The Session was addressed by the Chairman of the Commission on Legislative Proposals of the Council of the Union, A. N. Poskrebyshchev, on the necessity of setting about to work over these "Principles" as soon as possible. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 356.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND RECONSTRUCTION IN THE U.S.S.R.

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THE relation between central and local administrative agencies is the concern of all public administrators. What shall the local official be permitted to do? How much control should be placed at headquarters? These are the questions which face every specialist in governmental organization, whether he be in the Bureau of the Budget in Washington, in the Treasury in London, or in the Ministry of Finance in Moscow.

An effective distribution of functions between the agencies of the central government and those of local governments is probably of greater concern to the USSR than to other countries. State monopoly ownership of industry, transport, and agencies of distribution has raised the science, or art, of public administration to a position of very great importance. A mistake, or even the organization of an ineffective administrative agency without the commission of anything other than an error of judgment, can injure the national economy.

Reconstruction of the USSR after the devastation of war has posed a serious problem for the Soviet public administrator. The Fourth Five-Year Plan sets high goals for production. The administrator must devise methods of governmental organization to facilitate achievement. The steps he has taken present a case study in the debated field of the relation between central and local agencies. The steps are set forth in the record of the years which have passed since the end of the war. The purpose of this paper is to examine the record.

TRANSFERS OF INDUSTRY

The transfer of state-owned industries from the supervision of Ministries of the Republic governments to the supervision of Ministries in the Federal government is a recurrent theme of the official journal of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Examples from the year 1947

will indicate the pattern. The Leningrad factory "Promet" which was under the RSFSR's Ministry for the Production of Building Materials was transferred to the USSR's Ministry of Building and Highway Machine Construction.¹ The State Farm "Natalevskoe" of the Belorussian SSR's Ministry of Animal Husbandry was transferred to the USSR's Ministry of Automobile Industry to supply the trust "Avtopromstroï."² Two brick factories of the Lithuanian SSR's Ministry for the Manufacture of Building Materials were transferred to the USSR's Ministry for Construction of Army and Navy Enterprises.³

The Leninakan Cotton-Paper Combine of the Armenian SSR's Ministry of the Textile Industry was transferred to the USSR's Ministry of the Textile Industry.⁴ The Gorky Provincial Printshop was transferred from the Gorky Provincial Executive Committee's Administration for Printing and Publishing to the Administration for Publishing of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.⁵ The Factory for the Production of Insulating Tile, administered by the Sakhalin Provincial Executive Committee, was transferred to the USSR's Ministry of the Fishing Industry of the eastern regions.⁶ The Chuisk Zonal Experiment Station of the Kirgiz SSR's Ministry of Agriculture was transferred to the All-Union Scientific Experimental Institute of the Cork Industry under the USSR's Ministry of Agriculture.⁷ The Irkutsk Provincial Printshop was transferred from the Irkutsk Provincial Executive Committee's Administration for Printing and Publishing to the Administration for Publishing of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.⁸ Four cork state farms of the RSFSR's Ministry of State Farms were transferred to the USSR's Ministry of Agriculture.⁹

The Minsk Pharmaceutical Factory of the Belorussian SSR's Ministry of Public Health was transferred to the USSR's Ministry of the Medical Industry.¹⁰ Eleven flour mills were transferred from the Lithuanian SSR's Ministry of Food Industry to the USSR's Ministry of Agricultural Stocks.¹¹ The Archangel Marine Experimental Laboratory of the RSFSR's Ministry of Food Industry was transferred to the USSR's Ministry of the Fishing Industry of the Western Regions.¹² The Erivan Shoe Factory No. 3 and two other shoe factories were transferred from the Armenian SSR's Ministry of Light Industry to the USSR's Ministry of Light Industry.¹³ The Baku Experimental Naphthalene Factory of the Azerbaidzhan SSR's Ministry of Public Health was transferred to the USSR's Ministry of Medical Industry.¹⁴

The trust "Lechsanstroï" of the RSFSR's Ministry of Construction of Civilian Housing was transferred to the Sanatorium Administration of the Kremlin.¹⁵ No transfers from the Ministries of the Federal

Government to the Ministries of the Republics are recorded in the official journal. The movement seems to have been in one direction.

A suggestion as to why the movement from the jurisdiction of the Republics to the jurisdiction of the Federal Government occurred is provided by a decree of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR relating to the work of the City Executive Committee of Kolomenskoe.¹⁶ In this decree the Council of Ministers reviewed the work of the City Executive Committee. The Council found the work inadequate because repairs had not been made to housing, a street-car line had not been constructed, retail stores had not been increased in number, new schools had not been opened, and sufficient public health measures had not been taken.

Similar criticism was levelled by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at the Executive Committees of the Vitebsk and Gomel Provinces in the Belorussian SSR.¹⁷ While the Presidium reported that much had been done to restore the destroyed houses of the provinces, as evidenced by the fact that in Vitebsk 39,980 dwellings had been constructed since the Germans had been expelled, while in Gomel, 48,148 houses had been built in the same period to house as many collective farm families, there still remained unhoused 1,287 families in Vitebsk and 1,045 families in Gomel. These were ordered housed in January, 1948.

Isolated reports of this nature indicate the problem Soviet public administrators have to face. Local initiative and skill have failed in some instances to meet the demands of the reconstruction period. In some instances local initiative has been stimulated to further effort. In some instances a locally operated industry has been transferred to the administration of the federal government. Some of the examples which have been set forth seem to evidence this type of solution. They indicate a mode of action which must be attractive to an exasperated administrator in the central government.

STIMULATING LOCAL INITIATIVE

Reliance upon the federal government alone is not indicated by the record. Another means of improving efficiency is being tried. It is the alternative of stimulating local initiative. This alternative policy probably requires more attention at the outset and provides a slower rate of improvement in production, but it is being pressed along with the program of transfers to central authorities. Instances of reemphasis upon local initiative are several. The Kolomenskoe failures, referred to previously, were made the subject of an order to the Provincial

Executive Committee to increase its work among the masses. This was to be done by preparing reports for the meetings of the deputies of the Provincial Soviet; by paying attention to the recommendations of the permanent commissions of the Soviet; by inviting members of these commissions to meetings of the Executive Committee, and by reviewing complaints of citizens filed with the Executive Committee.

The extent to which the rule calling for close association with the masses has been ignored was dramatized by a decree of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR relating to the work of the Voronezh City Executive Committee.¹⁸ The Executive Committee was reprimanded because it had called the deputies of the City Soviet together for a meeting only six times during eleven months of the year 1946, when the Constitution of the Republic required a meeting at least once a month.¹⁹ Attendance at the meetings had been small. At the twenty-eighth session only one of the twelve persons in attendance was a deputy of the City Soviet.²⁰

The lack of interest in meetings of the Voronezh City Soviet was laid to the failure to prepare materials for the sessions so that deputies would be interested in coming. Another cause was believed to be the postponement of discussion of matters on the agenda. The example was given of a progress report on the procurement and distribution of lumber by the construction trusts which had been placed on the agenda for February 11, 1946. The discussion was postponed until March 9, and again postponed to May 13. It had not been brought forward for discussion at the time of the decree on December 29, 1946. It was an urgent matter, as evidenced by performance of the reconstruction plan during the eleven months of 1946 of only 80.2%.

Reliance upon local initiative has also been evidenced by the treatment accorded the cooperatives since the end of the war. In sharp contrast to the decree of September 29, 1935,²¹ which had liquidated the consumers' cooperative associations in the cities and had transferred their properties to the Commissariat of Internal Trade, a decree of November 9, 1946²² reemphasized the importance of the work of the cooperatives and ordered their principal agency, the "TSentrosoiuz," to reinstitute cooperative stores in the cities. The consumers' cooperatives were also ordered to produce as well as distribute so that the public might be served.

GUIDANCE FOR THE COOPERATIVES

Reemphasis upon the contribution which the cooperatives were expected to make to the reconstruction period was accompanied by a

change in the relationship of the cooperatives to the agencies of the state. The decree of November 9, 1946 created a Chief Administration on the Affairs of the Producers' and Consumers' Cooperatives, and attached it to the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, subsequently renamed the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

The creation of the Chief Administration followed by about two months the creation in the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of a Council on Collective Farm Affairs to supervise the activity of the agricultural cooperative associations, known as collective farms.²³ Both decrees brought the cooperative associations into closer relationships with the agencies of the state. The decree on the consumers' and producers' cooperatives marked the longer jump, because their liaison with the state (the Council of People's Commissars) had previously come through their central agency, the "TSentrosoiuz" and the supervision had been only of a general kind. The agricultural cooperative associations, or collective farms, had been in close relationship since 1932, when the Republic and Provincial Collective Farm Unions had been liquidated, and the farms placed under the direction of the Commissariat of Agriculture of the Republic, which operated through its agents, the Land Departments of the Province, District and Village Soviets.

The program which had been set in motion in 1932 with the collective farms has been accelerated during recent months. The cooperatives are being brought more closely into the system of state agencies. On May 17, 1947²⁴ an Administration for Forest, Forest Chemical and Woodworking Producing Cooperatives to be directly attached to the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR was created by the latter. In the Charter of the new Administration²⁵ it is given the powers of guiding, planning for, supplying and auditing the work of the specialized cooperatives concerned, of aiding them to utilize local raw materials and unused bi-products of state industry, of searching for additional resources, of broadening the selection of goods manufactured and of improving quality, of seeing to the proper use of materials issued to the cooperatives and of preventing the misuse of these materials in production and trade. Finally, the new Administration is to see that the cooperatives do not violate their charters. The Director of the Administration has the right to issue orders based upon the laws of the USSR and of the RSFSR, and these orders must be obeyed by the cooperative societies.

Students of the development of the cooperative movement within the USSR will be reminded that Stalin had emphasized at the

January Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1933 that the state had a right to demand of every cooperative that it operate without loss to itself.²⁰ In the Soviet system it is felt that the success of the cooperatives is a matter of concern for all. A cooperative enterprise cannot be permitted to become insolvent because of poor management, if the state is to lose some needed article of consumption thereby. The 1946 and 1947 decrees establishing state agencies to supervise the cooperatives may indicate that during the period of reconstruction, the cooperatives must be aided vigorously in their effort to produce for the market, even though they are not state agencies or enterprises in the accepted legal sense.

STRUCTURE OF MINISTRIES AND INITIATIVE

The structure of Soviet ministries has long manifested the desire of Soviet administrators to utilize local talents in economic activity. When the USSR was created, the Constitution provided for two types of Commissariat, as the Ministries were then called. One of the types was to be highly centralized in structure. It was to be situated at the seat of the Federal Government and to operate through its own agents wherever business was to be done. This type was represented in the economic field by a Commissariat of Posts and Telegraphs and a Commissariat of Communications (transport).

A second type of Commissariat was less centralized in structure. It was designed to provide for planning and general supervision in the Federal Government, while operating functions were to be performed by a Commissariat of the same name in each of the federating Republics. The pattern was not simple, however, for operations were conducted directly by the federal authority even in the fields chosen for the second type of Commissariat, when an individual factory was considered crucial to the economic development of the nation. This type was represented in the economic field by the Supreme Council of National Economy. This body on the federal level planned for all state-owned industry and operated some of the key units. The bodies of the same name in each of the Republics operated the general run of industry located within the boundary of the Republic concerned.

A third type of Commissariat was provided to plan for and operate state-owned industry in the Republics alone, without reference to any Commissariat in the Federal Government. Agriculture was the only economic activity in this class at the outset of the federal system.

During the years between the enactment of the first federal constitution in 1923 and the enactment of the second federal constitution

in 1936, the area of economic activity was expanded. With this expansion, management developed primarily in the pattern of the Commissariat which comprised a planning Commissariat in the Federal Government and an operating Commissariat of the same name in each Republic. The Supreme Council of National Economy was abolished by decree of January 5, 1932.²⁷ The industries of a capital goods character were transferred to a Commissariat of Heavy Industry. This was devised as a Commissariat of the first type, known as All-Union—highly centralized with no operating Commissariats in each Republic. The forest industries formerly under the Supreme Council of National Economy were also placed under a new Commissariat of Forest Industries. This was of the All-Union type. But light industry was treated differently. Units in this field were placed under a newly created Commissariat of Light Industry. It was of the second type—with a Commissariat in the Federal Government to plan, and in some rare cases to operate light industry, and a Commissariat of Light Industry in each Republic to operate the bulk of light industry.

The dissolution of the Supreme Council of National Economy and the creation of various Commissariats to handle its work was but the beginning. In 1934 about 80 industrial units, which were being operated by the Commissariat of Light Industry in the Republics, were removed from their jurisdiction. They were transferred to Commissariats of Local Industry which were created in the Republics, without a Commissariat of like name in the Federal Government to plan and supervise their work. These industries were to be expanded and operated by the men on the spot, being coordinated with the national economy only on a high level of planning, provided by the State Planning Commission of the Federal Government and the State Planning Commissions in each Republic.

Changes occurred in the organization of the Commissariats in subsequent years. On the eve of the enactment of the second federal constitution in 1936 economic activity of the USSR was supervised and operated by All-Union Commissariats of Communications, Water Transport, Post and Telegraph and Heavy Industry. The Commissariats of the second type handled the fields of Light Industry, Food Industry, Forest Industry, Grain and Livestock Farms, Agriculture and Internal Trade. The third type of Commissariat, involving the maximum use of local initiative, was utilized for Local Industry and Communal Economy (the administration of state owned housing and services).

THE MINISTERIAL PATTERN OF TODAY

The second federal constitution of 1936 continued the pattern

which had been established on the eve of its adoption. Only a few changes were made, as for example, the addition of a Commissariat of Defense Industry of the All-Union type. It was to assume operation of that part of the enterprises, formerly under the Commissariat of Heavy Industry, which had to do with war production. The war caused further changes for the purpose of greater specialization in armament. There was a trend toward further fragmentation of the Commissariats, as segments of the field of military production were split out of the Heavy Industry group and placed under Commissariats of the All-Union type to provide personal guidance by top executives. Local initiative in the direction of branches of industry seems to have been relegated to second place, although local initiative was utilized in the actual management of individual plants.²⁸

When the war was over and industry had been restored to a peacetime footing, the constitution of the USSR was amended to reflect the changes in administrative structure of the State. The revision, as approved by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on February 25, 1947, shows the importance attached to centralization of economic activity in the Federal Government.²⁹ All-Union Ministries are operating the aircraft industry, the automobile industry, the munitions industry, the machine and instrument making industry, the medical supplies industry, the oil industry, the communications equipment industry, the rubber industry, the agricultural machinery industry, the machine tool industry, the building and highway construction machinery industry, shipbuilding, the transport machinery industry, the heavy machine building industry, the chemical industry, the coal industry, the non-ferrous metals industry, the pulp and paper industry, the iron and steel industry, the electrical industry, power stations, the construction of industrial plants. The operation of railways and posts and telegraphs remained under Ministries of this type.

The economic activity which was placed in the Union-Republic type of Ministry was also important, but clearly of a different type—grocery supplies industry, cinematography, light industry, forest industry, meat and dairy industry, food industry, building materials industry, fish industry, agriculture, state farms, textile industry and trade. Most of these have to do with consumers' goods.

The pattern seems clear, namely that emphasis is being placed upon centralized planning, control and operation of all economic activity which has to do with the production of capital goods. Some peripheral industries are also included. Only the consumers' goods industries are made a matter of local operation subject to centralized planning and

control. The transfer of specific industrial and agricultural units from the Ministries of the Republics or Executive Committees of Provinces in the Republics accentuates the developments. These transfers seem to indicate a tendency to place the essential units, even of the consumers' goods industries, or perhaps the poorly operating units, under the central government. Local executives will undoubtedly remain as managers in most cases, but they will be subject to closer supervision and direction in performing their work.

Patterns in no country are so uniform that exceptions cannot be found. Some suggestion that the movement is not entirely toward the center is to be found in the establishment of a Ministry of the Textile Industry in the Latvian SSR,³⁰ similar to the Ministries of the Textile Industry which exist in the Republics which have been members of the Union for longer periods of time. Textile mills in Latvia were apparently operated by the Ministry of the Textile Industry in the Federal Government before the enactment of the decree. They will now be operated by Republic officials of the new Ministry, subject to plans and programs devised by the Ministry of Textile Industry in the Federal Government. This change in administrative structure should make for greater latitude to local officials in the use of their own initiative and imagination.

CONCLUSION

The record gives the impression that public administrators in the U.S.S.R. have been inclined to favor centralization of administration to meet the needs of reconstruction. At the same time there has been a reaffirmation of faith in the influence which the public generally can bring to bear in favor of efficiency and honesty in administration when the matters are of such local concern that the public can be informed and make a contribution.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Ved. verkh. sov.*, S.S.S.R., No. 2 (456), 12 Jan. 1947.
2. *Idem*, No. 4 (458), 28 Jan. 1947.
3. *Idem*, No. 6 (460), 12 Feb. 1947.
4. *Idem*, No. 17 (471), 31 May 1947.
5. *Idem*, No. 19 (473), 11 June 1947.
6. *Idem*, No. 22 (476), 1 July 1947.
7. *Idem*, No. 25 (479), 18 July 1947.
8. *Idem*, No. 27 (481), 9 Aug. 1947.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Idem*, No. 30 (484), 10 Sept. 1947.
11. *Idem*, No. 31 (485), 16 Sept. 1947.

12. *Ibid.*
13. *Idem*, No. 41 (495), 30 Nov. 1947.
14. *Idem*, No. 45 (499), 26 Dec. 1947.
15. *Idem*, No. 6 (505), 13 Feb. 1948.
16. *Sob. post.*, R.S.F.S.R., No. 3, 10 April 1947, Art. 6.
17. *Ved. verkh. sov.*, S.S.S.R., No. 44 (498), 23 Dec. 1947.
18. *Sob. post.*, R.S.F.S.R., No. 3, 10 April 1947, Art. 7.
19. Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R., Art. 86.
20. It is not certain who the eleven persons who were not deputies might have been. Some could have been executives who were chairmen of the administrative departments of the local soviet and some could have been "activists" representing an organization but having no right to vote.
21. *Sob. zak.*, S.S.S.R., 1935, No. 52, Art. 427.
22. A summary of the terms of the decree was published as the leading article in *Izvestia*, No. 265 (9181), 12 Nov. 1946.
23. *Sob. post.*, S.S.S.R., 1946, No. 13, Art. 254. For the Charter of the new Council see *idem*, No. 14, Art. 271.
24. *Sob. post.*, R.S.F.S.R., 1947, No. 7, Art. 24.
25. *Idem*, 1948, No. 2, Art. 3.
26. See *Kurs sov. khoz. prava*, tom I, p. 320 (1935)
27. *Sob. zak.*, S.S.S.R., 1932, No. 1, Art. 4.
28. See Ernest C. Ropes, *Industrial Management in the Soviet Union: A Book Review*, *Am. Rev. on the Sov. Union*, Vol. 9, p. 21 (March, 1948).
29. Art. 77.
30. *Ved. verkh. sov.*, S.S.S.R., No. 2 (501), 10 Jan. 1948.

BIROBIDZHAN—THE JEWISH AUTONOMOUS REGION OF THE U.S.S.R.

J. M. BUDISH*

THE discussions and decisions of the United Nations concerned with the fate of the Jewish State of Israel in Palestine and of the Jewish D.P.'s in Europe, have focused more brightly the world spotlight on the broad issues which underlie these problems—on the question of national equality in law and in fact, on the question of statehood, on the question of imperialism and democracy. Interest has increased, accordingly, in the history and present status of the Jewish Homeland established in the U.S.S.R. in 1934, after six years of preliminary experimentation, with a contiguous settlement of Jews on a large strip of territory in the Far East, some 5,000 miles east of Jerusalem. What lay back of the Soviet decree of March 28, 1928, designating Birobidzhan for settlement by Jews with a view to forming a Jewish state unit, and what vicissitudes and accomplishments were to mark its implementation?

The subject is of interest not only to Jews the world over who have in recent years witnessed the national question develop in ways and assume forms which resulted in the annihilation of six million Jews by Nazi Germany and which in some lands, continue to threaten their welfare and security; it is also of interest in all lands where the nationality problem has not yet been solved.

The Soviet decree, it should be noted at the outset, based itself decidedly and unequivocally on the recognition of the equal right of the Jews, just as of all oppressed nationalities, to self-determination, despite the fact that because of the age-long oppression inflicted upon them, they no longer possessed *all* the attributes of a nation. The reverse view historically was expressed for example in the French National Assembly's grant (September 27, 1791) of equal rights

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to Jews considering them not as an ethnic group, people or nationality, but merely as French adherents of a particular religion.¹ This latter view prevailed among many groups of Jews themselves, including most German Jews practically up to the seizure of power by Hitler, and still finds large numbers of supporters in many countries.² The Soviet view is founded upon the analysis of the national question as developed by Lenin and Stalin, and recognizes the Jews as a people, a view also underlying the aspirations of the Jews in Palestine.

On the eve of the October Revolution, Lenin in his theses on "Imperialism, Socialism and the Liberation of Oppressed Nationalities" written in March, 1916, and devoted to the affirmation of the right to full self-determination of such territorial nationalities as Ukrainians, Poles, Finns, etc. including the right to separation and formation of independent states of their own, laid down the following fundamental principle: "Victorious socialism must necessarily carry to realization complete democracy and consequently it has not merely to enforce complete equal rights for all nationalities, but it must also carry into realization the right of oppressed nationalities to self-determination, i. e., the right to political separation." Lenin insisted that, "Just as mankind can come to the elimination of classes only through the transition stage of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, similarly mankind can come to the inevitable merger of nations only through a transition period of the complete liberation of all oppressed nations, i.e., their freedom to separation."³

In a further discussion of the national problem in the fall of 1916 Lenin stated: "While based on economics, socialism is by no means reduced entirely to economics. In order to eliminate national oppression there must be a foundation—socialist production. But on top of this foundation there must *in addition* be a democratic organization of the state, a democratic army, etc. Having rebuilt capitalism into socialism, the proletariat creates *the possibility* of the complete elimination of national oppression; this possibility will be transformed into actuality 'only'—'only'—with the complete enforcement of democracy in every field up to and including the determination of the frontiers of the state in accordance with the 'sympathies' of the population, up to the complete freedom of separation. On this basis there is bound to develop, in its turn, *in practice* the absolute elimination of the slightest national frictions, of the slightest national suspicion, there will be created the accelerated rapprochement and merger of nations which will *culminate in the dying off* of the state."⁴

After the October Revolution, under the conditions of Socialism in construction, the above-quoted principles were further developed and applied.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed in 1922 on the basis of complete national equality. One of the most distinguishing features of the Soviet Constitution is that it is not considered merely as a declaration of a goal to which to aspire, but rather as the affirmation of a way of life already evolved, as it is to be actually enforced in the day-to-day life of the community. In his Party report only one year later, in 1923, Stalin strongly emphasized this aspect of Soviet constitutional doctrine:

"The equality of legal status of the nations, won by the October Revolution, is a great achievement of the peoples, but does not of itself solve the whole national problem. A number of Republics and peoples which have not passed, or have hardly entered, the stage of capitalism, which have no proletariat, or hardly any proletariat of their own, and which on this account are backward economically and culturally, are incapable of utilizing to the full the rights and opportunities offered them by national equality; they are incapable of achieving a higher level of development and thus catching up with the more advanced nationalities unless they receive real and prolonged assistance from outside. The causes of this actual inequality lie not only in the history of these peoples but also in the policy pursued by tsarism and the Russian bourgeoisie. . . . To remove this inequality in a short space of time, to eliminate this heritage in a year or two, is impossible. . . . But eliminated it must be at all costs. . . . Otherwise, there are no grounds for expecting the establishment of a proper and durable collaboration of peoples within the framework of a single confederate state. Hence, the second immediate task of our party is to strive to eliminate the actual inequality of the nationalities and to raise the cultural and economic level of the backward peoples."⁵

And in 1930, discussing the basic principles of the Soviet Constitution, Stalin said:

"It proceeds from the proposition that all nations and races have equal rights. It proceeds from the fact that neither difference in color or language, cultural level, or level of political development, nor any other difference between nations or races can serve as grounds for justifying national inequality of rights. It proceeds from the proposition that all nations and races, irrespective of their past and present position, irrespective of their strength or weakness, should enjoy equal rights in all spheres of the economic, social, political, and cultural life of society."⁶

The application of this general nationality policy of the Soviet Union was especially important for such peoples as the Jewish who had had "no large and stable stratum associated with the soil which would naturally rivet the nation," and hence "whose existence [as

a nation, it was considered] has still to be proved.”⁷ The fact that the Jewish people did not have any stable stratum associated with the soil was the result of the discrimination and oppression to which they were subjected by the Tsarist regime which barred them from agricultural pursuits. The Soviet Government, therefore, considered it an essential part of its nationality policy to help the Jews overcome this historic backwardness, to present them with the opportunity to settle in substantial numbers on land and develop a large stratum of tillers of the soil, with a view of forming a majority of the population on a contiguous territory, thus helping them to acquire all the attributes of a nation, defined by Stalin to constitute “a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture.”⁸

The Jewish people had suffered grievously from the heritage of tsarism. The Jews of old Russia were singled out, just as they are now by all forms of near-fascism and reaction, as special targets of persecution. Pogroms and fabricated ritual murder trials were the gravest but not the most effective form of the Tsarist anti-semitic policy. The numerous legal disabilities, the Pale of Settlement, the barring of Jews from agriculture and heavy industry (with insignificant exceptions), the *numerus clausus*, the political and social discrimination, worked havoc with Jewish life of old Russia.⁹ These conditions made it impossible for the Jewish people before the October Revolution, to develop a substantial class of industrial and agricultural workers. Instead, they were plagued by the type of *Luft-mensch* (a person without definite sources of income, living “on air”) that has become one of the best known, if somewhat exaggerated, characters of the literature of the period and that undermined the economic structure and vitality of the Russian Jews. As a result, immediately after the Russian Revolution, “of the five or six million Russian Jews only three to four per cent are connected with agriculture in any way. The remaining 96 per cent are employed in trade, industry, in city institutions and, in general, live in cities; moreover, they are spread all over Russia and do not constitute a majority in a single province.”¹⁰ It was therefore necessary to rebuild Jewish life in the Soviet Union from its foundations. Here is an excellent summary by the Soviet economist, L. Singer, of the various measures taken by the Soviet government for that purpose:

“Complete elimination of every form of former legal disability; the merciless struggle against any and all expressions of anti-semitism; the alloca-

tion of contiguous stretches of land for Jewish land settlements in the Ukraine and in the Crimea; the creation of several national Jewish administrative districts within the two mentioned Republics; the economic improvement of the townships in the Ukraine, Belorussia and in the former territory of the Russian Republic; the drawing in of the Jewish youth, on a planned basis, into industrial enterprises and into the construction industry; the establishment of a developed system of schools and institutions for general education in the mother tongue (Yiddish)—this is, in short, the cycle of measures that were carried out energetically and successfully.

"The formation of the Jewish Autonomous Region was the crowning achievement of this grandiose work of reconstruction."¹¹

As a result of these measures, the number of Jewish workers in heavy industry grew by 1934 to 25 per cent of the total Jewish population, while the number engaged in non-productive occupations was reduced from 55 per cent to between 5 and 8 per cent. The number of Jewish factory workers, members of trade unions, in the Ukraine alone, reached 157,007 by July 1, 1933.¹²

The number of Jews settled on the land on the Ukraine, the Crimea and Belorussia reached some 250,000 and they formed five compact groups, organized into five Jewish autonomous *raions* (administrative units, equivalent to counties in the U.S.A.).* However, the densely populated European republics of the Soviet Union presented no opportunities for the development of a contiguous settlement on a sufficiently large scale to provide for the building up of a Jewish self-governing state unit. Hence, the undeveloped and sparsely populated territory of Birobidzhan was allocated for settlement by Jews to enable them to achieve actual equality also with regard to the attributes of statehood, already possessed by the other nationalities of the U.S.S.R. The victory of the Soviet revolution in the Far East in 1922, the planned socialist reconstruction and conquest of its virgin natural resources, facilitated the accomplishment of this pioneering achievement of Soviet national policy—the planned building up of a national state, the first such case in history.

The Birobidzhan decree of the Soviet government of March 28, 1928, was rather carefully worded. It was not meant as a mere solemn declaration of a desideratum. The decree made the specific provision that only "In case of favorable results being achieved by the contiguous settlement of this (Birobidzhan) territory by Jews, the orientation is to be for the formation on this territory of a Jewish national administrative-territorial unit."¹³

By 1934, the favorable results achieved by the contiguous Jewish settlement of Birobidzhan were sufficiently evident to enable the

Soviet Government to transform this territory into a Jewish national administrative-territorial unit. On May 7, 1934, Birobidzhan was elevated to the status of the Jewish Autonomous Region. M. I. Kalinin, the late President of the Soviet Union, in an address to workers of Moscow industrial enterprises on May 28, 1934, emphasized the significance of this event, by stating:

"It should be understood that the formation of a Region is not an empty declaration. That means that they will have their own budget . . . that they will have representation in Moscow in the Council of Nationalities. . . . A region is a great thing under our conditions . . . It presents great opportunities. Birobidzhan will also have its own economic plan . . . As to the transformation of the Region into a Republic, it is merely a question of time . . . It will depend upon the Region itself. The creation of a Republic out of a Region will be easier than the formation of a Region out of a county-unit. The transformation of the Region into a Republic will from now on depend upon the working Jews themselves, upon their migration into the Region and permanent settlement there."¹⁴

The rapid progress within six short years would certainly have been impossible without the very generous assistance of the government and people of the Soviet Union. And this assistance was directly related to the underlying theory and principles of Soviet national policy. As a Birobidzhan Jewish writer puts it, out of the social experience of the Soviet Jews:

"The Soviet way is the way of the development of all nations, wherever the principle of national state and multi-national state are not in contradiction with one another . . . The Soviet way therefore gives each ethnic group, however small or backward, *the opportunity and the necessary assistance* in the process of its development into a nation; the Soviet government *knows of no policy of assimilation* . . . The Soviet power starts out with the factor of statehood. She does not question, she does not search the national passport, whether all attributes of a nation are present. She begins with the formation of a national district-unit, national region, national autonomous republic, thus facilitating the development of a nation, the acquiring by it of all the necessary attributes."¹⁵

While a Jewish nation within the U.S.S.R. was made possible by Soviet national policy, nevertheless, as President Kalinin put it, concretely "the elevation of Birobidzhan to the status of an Autonomous Region (in 1934) was the result of the will of the Jewish masses to strengthen the work in Birobidzhan, to develop the Jewish national unit."¹⁶ The history of Birobidzhan reflects that will of the Soviet Jews to build up their national state within the U.S.S.R.

The territory of Birobidzhan was designated for preferred Jewish settlement and the formation of a Jewish state, not in a haphazard manner, but on the same basis of careful planning as that underlying all population transfers in the Soviet Union. In 1927, the KOMZET (a special government commission for the settlement of Jews on land) sent out several expeditions to explore various sparsely populated territories in different parts of the Soviet Union. The results of this investigation proved Birobidzhan to be best fitted for settlement by Jews with a view to the formation of a Jewish state unit. In later years, especially in 1929-1933, additional detailed explorations were undertaken for the purpose of perfecting plans for the development of industry, agriculture, transportation facilities and the building of settlements.¹⁷

Birobidzhan¹⁸ is located in the bend of the Amur River, between 47°41' and 49°31' North Latitude and between 130°30' and 135° East Longitude. It has an area of 15,000 square miles, twice the size of the state of New Jersey and about three times that of the state of Israel as determined by the decision of the United Nations of November 29, 1947. It borders on Manchuria to the southwest for a distance of 646 kilometers (401 miles) along the Amur River. Its eastern border is in the immediate vicinity of Khabarovsk, while its western and north-western frontiers are formed by the foothills of the Khingan Mountains which occupy almost sixty per cent of the entire Birobidzhan territory. These mountains are comparatively low, their summits reaching an average height of 500 meters (1640 feet). It is covered with a network of rivers and lakes stretching for a total of some 2000 miles, most of them being tributaries of the Amur River. Of these the most important are the Great Bira extending for 320 kilometers (199 miles), the river Bidzhan, 180 kilometers (112 miles), the Little Bira and the Tanguska. The Region derives its name from the first two rivers mentioned.

The largest lakes are Lebedinoe (swan), Rybnoe (fish), Krugloe (round), Peshchanoe (sandy) and Teploe (warm). The lakes and rivers abound with fish, including carp, eel-pout, bream, Siberian salmon, sheatfish, goby, crucian, pike, and also some rare fish like the bisexual silver carp, the starfish and others. The rivers and lakes supply the basis for a thriving fishing and canning industry, and the foundation for the development of hydroelectric energy. The capacity of the surveyed hydroelectric resources of the Jewish Autonomous Region are estimated at 32,000 kilowatts.

Thirty-two percent of the territory of Birobidzhan is covered with

thick forests. Species of both the northern and southern zones are found in abundance. The mighty trunks of cedar, or *cedrela* (which reach a height of 120 feet), and of spruce are twined with slender vines of the wild grape. Cedar and birch are interlaced with large vines. The Manchurian walnut grows side by side with the northern aspen and silver fir. Daurian larch, Mongolian oak, Manchurian ash, Amur linden, Siberian fir, and many other species fill the taiga. The Amur acacia rises from amidst the brush, reaching a height of 75 feet and boasting of a life between 200 and 250 years. The bark of its young branches supplies more than 10 percent of tannin for the leather and chemical industries, while its wood, stronger than that of oak, supplies excellent material for the manufacture of bent wood furniture. The "velvet" or cork trees supply raw material for the manufacture of cork not inferior to that made from the Algerian oak. It is also used for the manufacture of life-belts and insulation materials. The moorland shrubs contain gutta percha up to 20 percent. Cedar oil and oil cake are derived from the nuts of the cedar, while the hulls are used to produce paint and the young tree branches supply a special oil known as "Carpathian Balsam." The wood is used in shipbuilding, in the manufacture of furniture, veneer, pencils, and in the construction of industry. Out of the pitch of the cedar, turpentine and rosin are distilled. The native elm supplies excellent water-resistant building material and the fibers of its bark are used for the production of rope and carpet material. The bark of the larch supplies excellent tannic material, while a fungus, growing on the trunk and known as the "lip of the larch," is used as a soap substitute. The black birch is known as the "iron tree" since out of its strong trunk, even ship anchors may be manufactured. The fruit of one of the high-climbing vines, known as "kishmin," is rich in Vitamin C and is used to prepare a delicious golden wine. Another kind of vine is known as the "lemon tree" because its fruit contains a substance tasting like lemon known as "shizandra," and used as a cure against fatigue, somnolence and asthma. Endless acres of melliferous flowers form the basis of a promising honey industry.

There are hundreds of different types of medicinal plants in the Region including valerian, pepper, cummin, lily of the valley, anise, etc., with a capacity of furnishing thousands of tons of valuable medicinal materials. There are numerous wild fruit trees and various types of berries and numerous kinds of meadow grasses and clover that can be used for feed. Rich crops are cultivated which include such grains as wheat, rye, oats, barley, rice, maize, "chumiza" (*Setaria italica*), "paisa" (*Panicum frumentaceum*), millet and sorghum; such beanlike

plants as: soya, the common bean, peas and lentils; such root vegetables as potatoes, beets, carrots and turnips; such fibrous crops as hemp and flax; such oil-bearing plants as "perilla" (*Perilla ocymoides*), sun flower, poppy, etc.; such miscellaneous crops as buckwheat, feed cabbage, "amaranthus," pumpkin, while tobacco and hops can be cultivated. Of the garden vegetables the following are being raised at present: tomatoes, cucumbers, eggplant, pepper, radishes, turnips, beets, cabbages, garlic, lettuce, watermelon, canteloupe and others. Of fruits and berries, the cultivated kinds at present are: apples, pears, prunes, cherries, currants, gooseberries, strawberries, and others.¹⁹

The fauna of the Region includes some 50 particularly noteworthy species of mammals and birds. The predatory mammals of the Region include the lynx, the Siberian tiger, the leopard and the brown bear. Among valuable fur-bearing animals are counted the sable, the squirrel, the hamster, the martin, the ermine, the wolverine and the badger. The Region is also rich in ungulate animals including the wild boar, various types of deer, the elk, and in rodents and insectivorous animals. The birds which are most abundant in the Region include ducks, geese, grouse, partridges and pheasants. The fauna of the Region supplies an adequate basis for a rich hunting, trapping, and fur dressing industry.²⁰

The Region has rich deposits of all useful minerals. Gold is found in the basins of the Sutar and the Samara Rivers and at the source of the Bidzhan River; copper—at the Sutar River; mercury—at the Kamenushka River; iron ore—both in northern and southern parts of Birobidzhan City, with mines, like the Ushman, already in operation; graphite (several hundred tons were produced during the war period and exploitation on a large scale is now planned); and lead. The rare metal, tin, was discovered only recently in the Khingan Mountains, and the construction of a new settlement, Khingan, has been completed, for the exploitation of these deposits; its present population is 7,000 but the plan provides for a total population of 30,000. Of the construction minerals, the Region has rich deposits of lime; the modern Londoko lime plant has an annual capacity of 80,000 tons; of dolomite, asbestos, ochre, and numerous clays and stones. There are large peat deposits near the city of Birobidzhan, in the Smidovich district and elsewhere. The vari-colored marble deposits near the town of Birokan are known throughout the U.S.S.R. Jasper, chalcedony, cornelian and, to a limited extent, amethyst have been found in the vicinity of the Little Khingan Mountains. The Region is famed for its hot mineral springs. Not far from the city of Birakan, near the Kul'dur River, is the famous

resort Kul'dur, in which the hot mineral springs have a flow of 160,000 liters a day, and the maximum temperature of their waters reaches 71° Centigrade. Not far from the city of Londoko are other hot mineral springs with a temperature of 68° centigrade; these wells have not yet been put in exploitation.

The climate of the Region is that of the temperate zone. The summers are warmer than in Minsk or in Kiev; the winters—considerably colder, but with much more sunshine. The heaviest precipitation is in the summer, while the spring, autumn and winter are predominantly dry. The mean winter temperature is plus 5° Fahrenheit. The average temperature in June is 70° Fahrenheit. Some summer days the temperature reaches 92° Fahrenheit and higher. The average temperature in September is 54° Fahrenheit. The mountains surrounding the Region protect it from fog, which is correspondingly rare. The heat and moisture of the summer months facilitate the rapid growth of both wild and cultivated plants, including such heat-consuming cultures as soya and rice.

The diverse topography and climatic conditions of the various parts of the Region have led to the development of a diversity of soils. Light, sandy and clay soil stretches mainly along the Amur River; in the western mountainous region, the prevailing soil is clayey and argillaceous; a considerable part of the soil resources of the Region is in need of amelioration. Every year the grasses of the preceding year are burned and that contributes to the drying of the soil, and it decreases its water-absorbing capacity. Since the settlement of the Region by Jews, the soil is gradually being drained.

This is the land that was designated for Jewish settlement and formation of a Jewish state in 1928. At that time it was an entirely undeveloped territory. There were hardly 30,000 people, scattered in very small villages or living as individual hunters and trappers. The entire territory had only two industrial enterprises, some gold works and a single lumber mill. The area under cultivation was insignificant. Even after the liberation of the territory by the Soviet armies in 1922, the increase in cultivated area was only on an average, a few hundred acres a year. During the twenty years since Jewish settlement started, Birobidzhan has been transformed into a land of rich crops, substantial industries and important cultural institutions.

The conquest of a virgin land is never an easy task. People do not readily depart from the places to which they have been accustomed and where they already enjoy certain amenities of life, nor are they

eager to face the inevitable hardships of pioneering. In 1928 there was only one railroad station in the Region, at which the Trans-Siberian Express would stop for one minute. That was Tikhonkaia, meaning quiet,—a village of a few hundred people. There were no highways; practically no telephone or telegraph service and very limited postal communication. It must also be remembered that as far as Jewish settlement of Birobidzhan was concerned, there were no compelling objective conditions, such as the need to escape from one or another form of discrimination and persecution, which history records as the decisive reason for most pioneering migrations; nor were there any compelling reasons to make the early Jewish settlers stay in Birobidzhan. Nearby there were great industrial centers: Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, Blagoveshchensk, etc., which were suffering from a great shortage of labor, where scales of wages were high and where the possibilities for cultural life were within easy reach.

During the first years of Jewish settlement in Birobidzhan, from 1928 to 1933, there actually was a substantial re-emigration from Birobidzhan to these nearby industrial centers. However, the number of Jewish pioneers who settled permanently in Birobidzhan was constantly increasing. By 1934 the flow back practically stopped. When this writer visited Birobidzhan in 1935, he found well-settled Jewish communities and no re-emigration. By 1939, according to the last Soviet census, the population of Birobidzhan was 109,000. No official figures are available at present but the population now is estimated at 185,000. The majority of the population are Jews.²¹ There are few records in history of an undeveloped and largely inaccessible territory making such progress in so short a time.

Every field of the economy and culture of the Region reflects the same rapid progress. Since the establishment of the Jewish Autonomous Region 70,000 acres of forest land have been cleared, 84,000 acres of virgin land have been brought under cultivation, and 27,000 acres of marshlands have been drained. The total cultivated area has reached 185,325 acres.²² The Region now has 66 collective farms and 5 state farms. Each of the collective farms has 300 head of cattle and each of the state farms up to 600. In addition, there are five horse-breeding farms. There are also 84 apiaries with 10,000 beehives, the economic plan providing for increasing the number of apiaries to 2,500 and of beehives to 250,000 to produce 5,000 tons of honey a year. There are 9 machine tractor stations in the Region with hundreds of tractors and harvester combines. Ninety-eight per cent of the agricultural processes are performed with mechanical power.

The Region is serviced by an agricultural tekhnikum in the town (*poselok*) of Stalinsk on the Amur and by four experimental stations, of which one is devoted to all cultures, while the other three specialize in seeds, vegetables, and fruits respectively. The central experimental station alone, near the city of Birobidzhan, employs more than 35 agronomists and zoological technicians. The new Jewish settlers have developed into highly skilled farmers, and they have abundant crops. In 1947 the collective farms completed their grain deliveries to the state ahead of the scheduled date and produced an extra 1,600 tons of grain over and above the plan. One of the oldest Jewish collective farms of the Region, Waldheim, won the right to be represented at the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow and received prizes for many of its crops. The Region is entirely self-sustaining in all its food products and produces a surplus for export to the other regions of the U.S.S.R.

Horticulture has recently made substantial progress. The pioneer horticulturist of the Region is the agronomist Abraham Getlitz, a follower of the famous Russian naturalist, Ivan Michurin. There are scores of large orchards in the Region yielding fine crops of fruit. Fishing is another important industry. There are two incubator-hatcheries engaged in propagation of valuable varieties of fish. During the last five years the Teploe Ozero hatchery alone bred and released into the rivers and lakes of the Region more than 250,000,000 eight-month-old fry.

Industry has made even more rapid strides. With it came the urbanization of the Region and the development of its Jewish culture. The former small village of Tikhonkaia has been transformed into the capital city of Birobidzhan, with a population of 50,000. Birobidzhan City is now the most important industrial and cultural center of the Region. The well-known Jewish writer, Sh. Gordon, who revisited Birobidzhan in the fall of 1946, after a ten-year absence declared: "I was unable to recognize it. Birobidzhan is at present a term designating excellent highways, asphalted sidewalks, big buildings, water supply, sewage, squares and streets lined with trees and shrubs."²³ He describes the various streets starting from the great brick railroad station, one of the most beautiful in the entire Far East, on the October Street—"an exceptionally beautiful street, with two and three-story brick buildings, and with tree-lined asphalt sidewalks." He then describes the Kalinin and Waldheim Streets where the major public institutions are concentrated, such as the Birobidzhan Machine Tractor Station, the Music School, the Radio Broadcasting Station, the Medical School, the Normal School, the College for Railroad Technicians, the buildings of the Regional and

district governments, and the moving picture house at the Central Square. Starting from that Square there is the Sholom Aleichem Street, and also Lenin Street with its furniture plant, wagon and wheel plant, the four-story building of the newspaper, *Birobidzhan Shtern*, the Jewish State Theater, the large building of the Ten-Year School, a modern hotel with telephone service in each room and a central heating system. From these major avenues branch out side streets with numerous factories including the plywood factory, the machine shop, the several brick plants, the saw and lumber mill and the plant for the production of doors, windows and other prefabricated parts for houses, the large clothing factory employing over 1,000 people, the department stores, the "gastronom" (grocery, delicatessen store), and other stores, numerous small factories and co-operative enterprises producing kitchenware, food products, soft drinks, etc. Mr. Gordon describes the fine Park of Culture and Rest with its Stadium for sports. All of this made one impression on Mr. Gordon, that "of a big city." "The more I walk the streets of Birobidzhan, the more I have the feeling," continues Mr. Gordon, "that I am not in the Far East but somewhere in the South. The center of the city, with its brightly-lit brick buildings and thickly treed lanes is very similar to that of the centers of Evpatoria, Feodosia, and Dzhankoe. You have the feeling that these streets will bring you to the seashore."

The other industrial establishments of Birobidzhan City include a furniture factory, leather factory, barrel plant, mechanized bakery, a printing shop, and an electric power station. The large machine and automobile repair shops which service the nine machine tractor stations of the Region are rapidly becoming the initial units for a machine producing and repairing industry. World War II retarded the industrial development of Birobidzhan. However, immediately after the war, new industrial construction began again on a large scale. On the Birofeld Highway, not far from the City of Birobidzhan, a new tile factory with a capacity of 350,000 tiles a year has just been put in operation.

The building of a large textile mill was started in March, 1945, and the first completed section of this mill was put into operation in 1947. The production capacity of this combine when completed with 6,780 spindles and 190 looms, will be five million meters of fabrics a year. It will produce large quantities of felt and yarn for the knit-goods industry. This year it will give the Region several hundred thousand yards of textiles.²⁴ A new shoe factory began production in August, 1946. Its total initial capacity will be 15,000 pair a year. However, the plant provides for the extension of its capacity to 100,000 pair a

year. A large confectionery factory is already in operation.

Of the other industrial centers of the Region, mention should be made of the city of Obluchie and the towns of Izvestkovaia, Teploe-Ozero, Londoko, Khingan, Kimkan, Birakan, In, Stalinsk and Bira.

Obluchie has great railroad shops. It is the center of the nearby Sutar gold works. It has a school for locomotive engineers, several high schools, a theater, clubs, libraries, a hospital, a Park of Culture and Rest with a sports stadium, a motion picture theater, etc. Londoko is the center of the lime industry and nearby is the hot springs resort Kul'dur. Khingan is the center of the recently discovered rich tin deposits, where tin mines and smelters are now in course of construction. Teploe-Ozero has the biggest cement plant in the entire Far East. Birakan is the center of the marble and paper industries. The first big paper plant was put in operation in 1947.

At present there are in operation in the Region 64 large industrial enterprises, 20 factories and mills of local industry, and numerous cooperative shops.²⁵ The cooperatives play an enormous part in the economy of the Jewish Autonomous Region. As early as the end of 1936 the Region had 35 producers' cooperatives in lumber, wood distillation, woodworking, production of kitchenware, and food and drink, with a total output of 17,180,000 rubles (in fixed prices of 1932).²⁶ The total output of the large industrial enterprises in 1939 (when their number was only 39 against the present 64) was valued at 32,692,000 rubles.²⁷

There are 20 railroad stations within the geographic limits of Birobidzhan and a substantial number of highly skilled locomotive engineers, firemen, conductors and stationmasters have been trained from among the new Jewish settlers. A number of railroad branch lines have been built and others are under construction, connecting the main line of the Trans-Siberian Railway with the Kul'dur resort, the Ushuman coal mines, and other important industrial enterprises.

The Jewish Autonomous Region enjoys full self-government in all regional affairs, including agricultural-industrial planning and development, militia, health and sanitation, local taxation, collection of federal taxes, and education. Local authorities are elected by the local population, by the vote of all citizens 18 years of age and over. Candidates must receive an absolute majority of all votes cast. Birobidzhan is the only place in the world where all ballots are printed in Yiddish, though ballots in Russian are provided for voters of other nationalities. In the last elections to the municipal council of Birobidzhan, consisting

of 73 members, held on December, 1947, 45 Jews and 28 non-Jews were elected. This reflects fairly the national distribution of the population in Birobidzhan City.

The budgetary income of the Region in 1946 was 43,555,000 rubles, exceeding the estimate by 403,000 rubles. The budgetary expenditures amounted to 41,452,000 rubles, exceeding the estimate by 996,000 rubles. The budgetary appropriations for 1947 were set at 52,266,000 rubles, an increase of 29 percent as against 1946.²⁸

The Region is represented in the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet by deputies of its own choosing. Among present deputies are Alexander Bakhmutsky, Shifre Kochina, E. Belsi, and Dr. Shakhne Ratner.

The greatest significance must be attached to the cultural development of the Jewish Autonomous Region. It is the only Jewish community where Yiddish culture grows out of everyday endeavors, as the superstructure of the production relationships of the Region. Yiddish culture is developing in Birobidzhan on the foundation of the entire economic, social and political life of the community. Here Yiddish is the language of the daily activities of the people in the market place, in government institutions, in the schools, in the courts, in agriculture, industry, trade and transportation.

The Yiddish school system of Birobidzhan has no parallel anywhere in the world (with the exception, to be sure, of the system of Hebrew schools in the state of Israel). There are nurseries, kindergartens, elementary schools, high schools, four institutes, a music school, a school for physical culture, courses for kindergarten teachers, agricultural experimental and research stations, evening and day schools for adults, schools for civic training, libraries, reading rooms and clubs. The writer had the opportunity to visit the elementary schools, secondary schools and institutes of Birobidzhan. Classes in mathematics, physics, chemistry and natural sciences were conducted in the Yiddish language. Even though the Region still lacks adequate school equipment and supplies and is short of textbooks, the educational level compares favorably with that prevailing in long settled areas.

The four-year Pedagogical Institute in the City of Birobidzhan has already supplied the Region with several hundred teachers. The Tekhnikum (junior college) for cultural and social workers fills an urgent need of this young Region that is receiving so many new settlers and is taking care of a great number of Jewish war orphans. Reference was made above to the agricultural Tekhnikum and experimental stations. The Yiddish scientific publications of the staff of the insti-

tute and experimental stations (B. Gottlib, Shchupak, Zolotnitsky and D. Sokolsky) on such subjects as the flora, fauna and the various crops, on cattle raising, etc., are an important contribution to the culture of the Region.

The Medical Institute in the City of Birobidzhan offers a four-year course for junior medical workers. The railroad Institute has already given the Region 625 railway technicians. The Music School graduated 80 students in 1947 and its present enrollment consists of some 100 students of violin, piano, clarinet and baian (accordion). In 1947, a beginning was made in the establishment of an art school for children. The well-known Jewish painter, Tsimerinov, has moved from Leningrad and settled in Birobidzhan, where he conducts two art schools for talented children, one at the House of Pioneers and the other at the Children's Home for war orphans. Some fifty children attend these two schools. At this writing, we have received word that first steps have been taken to establish a full-fledged Jewish State University in Birobidzhan City.

Last year the study of the Yiddish language was made obligatory as a secondary language for the non-Jewish schools of the Region. This year, a special textbook, Yiddish for non-Jews, was published by H. Rabinkov. It seems to us that this is the only case where a textbook of that nature has become a necessity for units of the regular school system anywhere in the world.

Only the most important of the other cultural institutions of the Jewish Autonomous Region can be mentioned here. The Jewish State Theater is well established; the Sholom Aleichem State Library in Birobidzhan City, has more than 150,000 volumes (110,000 titles), including some 29,000 on Judaica. There are 29 libraries throughout the Region, 44 reading rooms, 24 clubs, six houses of culture, 27 stationary and 10 portable moving picture houses, 15 radio sub-stations, numerous choruses and music ensembles, several vocational schools. The Regional Museum in Birobidzhan City is devoted to the flora, fauna and paleontology of Birobidzhan and the history of Regional development, to exhibitions of Jewish culture, from ancient times to present, including a special department—"The Jew and Human Culture"—devoted to the contributions of such outstanding Jews as Spinoza, Marx, Heine, Mendelssohn, Rubenstein, etc.

Birobidzhan press and literature deserve much more space than we can give it here. The Region has one Yiddish newspaper in the City of Birobidzhan, *Der Shtern* (*The Star*), several publications in the various district centers, and a "literary-artistic, political and social"

magazine *Birobidzhan*. Talented writers and poets, dramatists such as I. Emiot, H. Vasserman, Aaron Vergelis, A. Bronfman, H. Dobin, M. Goldshtein, B. Miller, E. Kazakeich, Luba Vasserman, H. Rabinkov, have grown up during this short period of time in the Jewish Autonomous Region and have gained for themselves a prominent place among the Jewish writers of the Soviet Union and throughout the world. The small group of Birobidzhan painters—L. Sevin, N. Gorshman, Sisman and Rosenblit—are distinguished by their interest in the specific character of the Birobidzhan landscape and the industrial and social life of the Region. Their studies, sketches and paintings reflect the pioneering life and rapid construction of the Jewish Autonomous Region.

Two general indices of the cultural development of the Region present a striking picture. In 1928 the total number of letters and telegrams received within the territory of the present Region was less than 3,000. By 1937 the number of letters alone was 9,500,000; the number of telegrams 500,000; and in addition, 7,500,000 newspapers were received in the Region.²⁹ The educational budget of the Region was 1,200,000 rubles in 1933. Since then it continually increased as shown in the following figures:³⁰

1934	2,400,000 rubles
1935	5,200,000 "
1946	18,400,000 "
1947	24,870,000 "

During the thirteen years since the establishment of the Jewish Autonomous Region, the educational budget increased tenfold.

The great strides made by Birobidzhan since the establishment of the Jewish Autonomous Region in 1934 have intensified the determination of the Jewish people of the U.S.S.R. to build up their national state. While migration into Birobidzhan was retarded during the war, owing to its distance from critical areas it has greatly increased in the present post-war period. The aspiration to participate in the upbuilding of the Jewish statehood was further strengthened by the opportunities presented by Birobidzhan as an important center for post-war Jewish rehabilitation. Thousands of Jewish war orphans are being restored to health and are provided with facilities for an adequate education in the Jewish Autonomous Region under conditions that are especially adapted to overcome the effects of the horrors these children experienced at the hands of the German aggressors during the war. Many thousands of Jewish families from the war-ravaged regions of the U.S.S.R. are finding a new home in Birobidzhan where they are able almost im-

mediately to become fully self-sustaining, while participating in the upbuilding of their Jewish state.

The Soviet Union facilitates this accelerated migration by generous grants-in-aid and easy credits. Railway transportation is supplied free of charge. In 1947 the state spent 12,800,000 rubles on transportation and grants-in-aid to settlers. In addition, each family was granted 12,000 rubles on long term credit, out of which only 6,000 are to be repaid to the state in small installments beginning with the sixth year. The settlers are exempt from taxation and deliveries to the state for a period of ten years.³¹ These aids are making possible large-scale migration, as can be seen from the following report of Alexander Bakhmutsky, Birobidzhan deputy to the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.:

"There is a great aspiration upon the part of the Soviet Jews to settle in Birobidzhan. Numerous applications are received from the Crimea, from the regions of Zhitomir, Kharkov, Dnepropetrovsk, and from the Baltic republics. In addition to the new settlers who are arriving in mass contingents, numerous individuals are coming to Birobidzhan singly. During the last one and a half to two years, more than 20,000 Jews have arrived and settled in the Region."³²

The latest report of the new chairman of the Regional Soviet, M. Levitan, dated February 10, 1948, states that in the month of January, 1948, alone, the number of new Jewish settlers arriving in Birobidzhan reached 2,000. *Einikeit* of May 29, 1948 tells of a Ukrainian contingent currently en route to Birobidzhan, and reports further that in Dnepropetrovsk a new contingent of 200 Jewish families has been organized and is scheduled to leave early in June for Birobidzhan; that 300 families have registered in Samarkand (Uzbek Republic) to go to Birobidzhan and 70 families in Daugavpils (Dvinsk), Latvia, have made arrangements to go to Birobidzhan. One of the major factors in the rapidly growing migration are the letters from the settlers to their relatives and friends in the old centers of Jewish population in the European part of the U.S.S.R. and in the centers of evacuation during the war.³³

In reviewing the twenty years of the achievements of the Jewish people in Birobidzhan it is pertinent to recall the forecast made by the late President Kalinin when he stated:

"In the Jewish Autonomous Region there will develop a great socialist construction, hand in hand with a genuine socialist Jewish culture . . . I consider Birobidzhan as a Jewish national state . . . How are people regenerated? Regeneration is brought about by the rough, practically virgin nature of the Region, in the course of creative toil . . . There will develop

there real Soviet Jews . . . Birobidzhan will no doubt grow to be a prosperous region . . . The hardship connected with the conquering of this raw but exceptionally rich region will hammer out a new type of Jew. The present pioneers in mastering the region will create a healthy and strong generation."

The young Birobidzhan poet, H. Blushtein, in later years gave poetic expression to this sense of the ruggedness and grandeur achieved by hammering out of a Jewish nation within the U.S.S.R. in the process of conquering the virgin natural resources of Birobidzhan:

"In this Region there is a magic power:
Here small things lose their sting;
Here each link is part of one great whole,
Here each man with joy creates a nation. . ."

The greatest achievement of Birobidzhan it seems to this writer, is indeed the hammering out of a new type of Soviet Jew who is the builder of his own life and culture, in brotherly cooperation with all other peoples of his country, not limited to any particular field of endeavor, but contributing out of his national genius to every field of human activity, an equal among equals, in the multinational Soviet Union.

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1. Cf. *The Jewish People, Past and Present*, Vol. 1 Jewish Encyclopedic Handbooks, N. Y. 1942, p. 192.
 2. In the United States this school of thought is represented primarily by the American Council for Judaism.
 3. V. I. Lenin, *Sochineniia*, Third Edition Moscow, 1936, Vol. XIX, page 37 and page 40.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 245 (all underscorings in the original).
 5. Josef Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question*, International Publishers, 1942, New York, pp. 131-132.
 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219.
 7. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
 9. For a complete record of the various legal disabilities of the Jews and other forms of persecution see *The War and the Jews in Russia* by J. M. Budish, National Workmen's Committee on Jewish rights, New York, 1916; this report was submitted by the Committee to President Wilson.
 10. Josef Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question*, op. cit. p. 41.
 11. L. Singer, *Dos Banaite Folk*, Moscow, 1941.
 12. *Iiden in FSSR*, Moscow, 1935, p. 241.
 - * For data on these groups, cf. Jacobson, Carol, "The Jews in the USSR," *The American Review on the Soviet Union*, August, 1945.
 13. Full text of decree published in *Iiden in FSSR*, op. cit. p. 177.
 14. Quoted from the text of his address in *Iiden in FSSR*, op. cit. pp. 37-38.
 15. "Di Sovetishe Iidishe Natsi" by A. Brakhmak, in the *Forpost* No. 1 (3), pp. 228-229, Birobidzhan, 1937.

16. See footnote 14.
17. Most of the factual geographical information in this paper, when no other sources are specified, is taken from the published reports of these scientific explorations, primarily from
 - a) *Trudy Birobidzhanskoi geologicheskoi ekspeditsii* (Works of the Birobidzhan Geological Expedition, 1929-1933), Z. A. Abdulaiev, V. N. Danilovitch, I. V. Moiseev, E. I. Rembashevski, S. E. Shkorbatov, Leningrad-Moscow, 1937; and
 - b) *Report of the American Icor Commission for the Study of Birobidzhan and its Colonization* by Prof. Franklin S. Harris, Benjamin Brown, Dr. J. B. Davidson, Dr. Chas. Kuntz, Kiefer B. Sauls, and L. Talmy, New York 1930.
18. The Jewish Autonomous Region is popularly identified by the name of its capital city, Birobidzhan.
19. B. Brook, B. Gatlitz, B. Zolotnitsky and D. Sokolsky, Scientific Research Workers of the Regional Experimental Station: "Die Kultur Geviksen fun der Iidisher Avtonomer Gegend," Article in the Birobidzhan magazine *Forpost*, No. 1, (3), Birobidzhan, 1937, pp. 301 ff. This article enumerates 109 various cultures that are cultivated at present or that can be cultivated in the Jewish area of their growth, the recommended species or varieties, and whether they are annual or perennial.
20. G. Greenberg, "Wilde Balexhaim in der Taiga fun der Iidisher Avtonomer Gegend." (Wild Animals in the forests of the Jewish Autonomous Region), Article in *Forpost*, No. 4-5, Birobidzhan, 1940, pp. 120-144.
21. "Birobidzhan—Pearl of the East," *Information Bulletin*, Embassy of the USSR Washington, D.C., January 12, 1946, p. 28.
22. "A Jewish Homeland," *USSR Information Bulletin*, Washington, D.C. April 28, 1948, p. 254.
23. Sh. Gordon, *Birobidzhaner Toishvim*, Moscow 1947, pp. 12-20, ff.
24. "Birobidzhan Laivent," *Einikeit*, Moscow, May 29, 1948, p. 2.
25. *USSR Information Bulletin*, April 28, 1948, op. cit. p. 254.
26. Sh. Kuperman *Di Geverb-Kooperatsie in der Iidisher Avtonomer Gegend*, Moscow, 1937, p. 9.
27. Report by H. N. Sukharev, Deputy from Birobidzhan to Council of Nationalities, in the magazine *Forpost*, Birobidzhan, 1940, No. 2-4, p. 3.
28. *Einikeit* (journal of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the USSR) Moscow, April 12, 1947, p. 1.
29. David Bergelson and M. Kazakevich, Birobidzhan, Moscow, 1939, p. 33.
30. See footnote. No. 28.
31. *USSR Information Bulletin*, April 28, 1948, op. cit. p. 256.
32. *Einikeit*, Moscow, April 10, 1948.
33. For examples of such letters, see the *Ambijan Bulletin*, published by the American Birobidzhan Committee, New York, especially the issue of June 1948.

STALIN LAUREATE WRITERS OF 1947*

Asafev, Boris V.	Glinka (musicology)
Avdeev, Viktor, F.	Herds on the Roads (novel)
Bubennov, Mikhail S.	Silver Birch (novel)
Ehrenburg, Ilya G.	The Storm (novel)
Galim (Rogalin), Boris A.	In the Donbas, In an Inhabited Place (sketches)
German, Yurii, P.	Pirogov (movie script)
Gonchar, Aleksandr T.	Standard-Bearers (novel)
Gribachev, Nikolai M.	The "Bolshevik" Collective Farm (poem)
Kazakevich, Emmanuil G.	The Star (novel)
Kerashev, Tembor M.	The Road to Happiness (novel)
Kerbabaev, Berdy M.	The Decisive Step (novel)
Ketlinskaia, Vera K.	Besieged (novel)
Kostylev, Valentin I.	Ivan the Terrible (trilogy)
Kozlov, Ivan A.	In the Crimean Underground (memoirs)
Likstanov, Iosif B.	Little Tot (novel)
Makliarsky, Isidor B.	The Exploit of the Scout (movie script)
Meilakh, Boris S.	Lenin and the Problems of Russian Literature at the Close of the 19th Century and the Opening of the 20th Century (literary criticism)
Mikhailov, N. N.	The Map of My Country (non-fiction)
Nechkina, Militsa V.	Griboedov and the Decembrists (history)
Nedogonov, Aleksei I.	The Flag over the Village Soviet (poem)
Panferov, Fedor I.	The Struggle for Peace (novel)
Panova, Vera F.	Kruzhilikhha (novel)
Pavlenko, Petr A.	Happiness (novel)
Pomeshchikov, Evgenii M.	The Tale of the Land of Siberia (movie script, co-author with Rozhkov)
Romashov, Boris S.	Great Force (play)
Rozhkov, Nikolai V.	The Tale of the Land of Siberia (movie script, co-author with Pomeshchikov)
Smirnova, Maria N.	The Village School Teacher (movie script)
Sofronov, Anatolii V.	In a Certain Town (play)
Sosiura, Vladimir N.	May the Orchards Rustle (collection of verse)
Sudrabkaln, Yan (Peina, Arvid K.)	In the Brotherly Family (collection of verse)
Tank, Maksim (Skurko, Evgenii I.)	Had We But Known (collection of verse)
Tursun-Zade, Mirzo	The Indian Ballad and other poems
Virta, Nikolai E.	Our Daily Bread (play)
Yakobson, August M.	The Struggle without a Battle Line (play)

* For Stalin Laureate writers for years 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946 see
The American Review on the Soviet Union March, 1948, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 62-64.
[SOURCE: *Izvestiia*, April 2, 1948] Compiled by B. L. Koten

NEWS NOTES

ECONOMY

The direct war expenditures of the USSR during 4½ years of warfare amounted to 550,000 million rubles (over 100,000 million dollars), while the direct material losses inflicted upon Soviet economy by the Hitlerites are calculated at 679,000 million rubles (128,000 million dollars).

[*Soviet News*, 2/6/48]

EDUCATION

There is a secondary school in Kiev where the pupils are taught exclusively in the English language. Most of the pupils are orphans who lost their parents during the war (says a TASS message from Kiev). The children, it is noted, will use the knowledge acquired in future life as an instrument for cultural and economic rapprochement between their country and the English speaking nations.

The school library has over 1,000 English books. In greatest demand among pupils of the senior grades are the works of Dickens, Shakespeare, Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells, while the lower grades show great interest in fairy tales. In the drama and singing circles pupils sing British folk songs, recite Shelley and Byron, and stage plays in English.

[*Soviet Monitor*, 4/27/48]

LIBRARIES

Some thousand delegates were present at the opening of an All-Russian conference of librarians which opened recently in Moscow (reports Moscow radio). Addressing the conference, T. M. Zueva, Chairman of the Committee for Cultural and Educational Institutions under the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR, said:

"In a short period the libraries of our country have prospered greatly and the Soviet Union occupies the first place in the world both for the number of her libraries and the number of books in them. In the Soviet Union there is a library for every 2,197 of the population . . . The Soviet libraries have a total of 500 million books—50 times more than the number of library books in pre-revolutionary Russia. By 1950 the number of rural libraries in the RSFSR will reach 7,300; city libraries—940; children's libraries—900."

[*Soviet Monitor*, 3/24/48]

RELIGION

In a TASS interview the Diocesan of the Vilnius Archdiocese, Priest Edmundas Basis, said that not one Catholic church had been

closed in Lithuania under Soviet power. In 1939 there were over 700 Catholic churches in Lithuania, and there has been no decrease in their number to this day. All Catholic holidays are observed quite freely. Baptisms, weddings and other religious rites are administered without any hindrance, as before.

Scores of young Catholic priests are graduated from the Kaunas Theological Seminary every year. As before, there are numerous Catholic monasteries. Kaunas alone has nine. Lithuanian monasteries count some 1,000 monks.

[*Soviet Monitor*, 4/29/48]

SAVING BANKS

By the beginning of 1948 the deposits in savings banks of the USSR amounted to 12,800 million rubles, nearly twice as much as in the last pre-war year (reports TASS). Since the currency reform the influx of deposits has increased. Citizens keeping their money in savings banks receive three to five per cent interest per annum, depending upon the type of deposit.

The USSR has 33,000 savings banks, with tens of millions of investors.

[*Soviet Monitor*, 2/7/48]

SCIENCE—FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. Sergei Vavilov, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, has received a letter from a group of Soviet scientists who are exploring the Arctic regions (reports TASS). The letter reads: "Our expedition has visited the so-called American mountain—one of the few mountainous islands in the Lena delta. At its summit stands a memorial to members of the American Arctic expedition who tragically starved to death in the Lena delta in 1881. A small wooden cross was erected near the place where the members of the expedition died. Ever since this place has been called American Mountain.

"When we arrived here we noticed that time and weather had destroyed the cross. We, Soviet scientists, could not ignore the destroyed memorial to men who perished while exploring the Arctic and have restored it to its initial shape."

[*Soviet News*, 2/19/48]

SOCIAL INSURANCE

This year's State Budget of the Soviet Union provides 15,700 million rubles for social insurance. The social insurance fund has been growing year by year. In 1946, the first post-war year, it amounted to 11,593 million rubles, in 1947 to 14,521 million, and in the current year, as will be observed from the above-mentioned figure, the insurance fund exceeded that of 1947 by nearly 1,200 million rubles.

[*Soviet News*, 4/2/48]

DOCUMENTS

PROCEDURE GOVERNING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN STATE AGENCIES OF THE U.S.S.R. AND THEIR OFFICIALS AND OFFICIALS OF FOREIGN STATES

For the purpose of introducing a uniform procedure in relations of state agencies of the U.S.S.R. and their officials with agencies and officials of foreign states, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. decrees:

1. Relations of state agencies of the U.S.S.R. and of their officials with agencies and officials of foreign states, when these agencies and officials are located abroad, shall be conducted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

The Ministry of Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. and the agencies under the control of the Ministry, or individuals commissioned by it, shall maintain direct relations within the limitations of their authority in matters of commercial intercourse with agencies and officials of foreign states, when these agencies and officials are located abroad.

Any other procedure for relations may be utilized only if it is specifically provided for in a law or in an international treaty of the U.S.S.R., which is in force, or in accordance with special authorization given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

2. Relations of state agencies of the U.S.S.R. and of their officials with diplomatic representatives of foreign states, when such representatives are on the territory of the U.S.S.R., shall be conducted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., or directly, but in the latter case, only with the consent of the Ministry.

The Ministry of Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. and the agencies under the control of the Ministry or individuals commissioned by it shall maintain direct relations within the limitations of their authority in matters of commercial intercourse with embassies and legations of foreign states, when such embassies and legations are located on the territory of the U.S.S.R. and also with their commercial counsellors and commercial attaches.

The Ministry of Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. shall advise the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. immediately of any questions of principle of a commercial-political nature which arise in such relations.

The procedure for relations of commercial organizations which have the right to do business on a foreign market with commercial counsellors and commercial attaches of the diplomatic missions of foreign states, when such commercial counsellors and commercial attaches are on the territory of the U.S.S.R., shall be established by the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. in agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

3. The procedure for relations of the High Command of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. with foreign military and naval attaches, who are on the territory of the U.S.S.R., shall be established by the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the basis of a proposal to be submitted by the Ministry of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

4. The procedure for relations of state agencies of the U.S.S.R. and of their officials with consular representatives of foreign states, when those consular representatives are on the territory of the U.S.S.R., shall be established by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. in conformity with the laws of the U.S.S.R. and international treaties of the U.S.S.R. currently in force.

5. State agencies of the U.S.S.R. and their officials, in the event that they receive written communication of any sort from agencies and officials of foreign states or from diplomatic missions of foreign states, which missions are on the territory of the U.S.S.R., are required to direct these communications together with any material relating to the subject matter of the question concerned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., but if the question relates to commercial intercourse, it shall be directed to the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. The answer to the question asked shall be given to the agencies or officials of foreign states by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. and the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R., whichever is concerned.

In the event of personal requests from officials of agencies of foreign states or from foreign diplomatic missions on the territory of the U.S.S.R., state agencies of the U.S.S.R. and their officials are required, without entering upon a discussion of the subject matter of the question, to limit themselves to an explanation that the officials of agencies of foreign states must, in accordance with the established procedure, direct themselves to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., or to the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. if the question concerns commercial relations. State agencies of the U.S.S.R. and their officials are required to advise the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

of the U.S.S.R. or the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. of facts concerning such a request.

6. The procedure for relations, as established in section 5 of this decree, shall not be extended to agencies and officials having relationships of a routine character, such as: the agencies of posts and telegraph, ticket windows and offices of railroad, municipal water and air transportation, customs, local police, notaries, housing managements for premises occupied by foreigners, fire protection agencies, first aid stations, service stations, savings banks, stores and kiosks, including book stores, restaurants, enterprises serving the needs of the population, theaters, museums, expositions and information booths—within the limitations, however, of the usual functions performed by the respective agencies and persons.

7. For violation of the procedure governing relations of state agencies of the U.S.S.R. and of their officials with agencies and officials of foreign states, established by this decree, officials of state agencies of the U.S.S.R. shall be held responsible under criminal law or in accordance with disciplinary regulations.

8. The Decree of the Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., dated 27 August 1926, entitled "Procedure governing the relations between government agencies and officials of the U.S.S.R. and of Union Republics with government agencies and officials of Foreign States (Collection of Laws of the U.S.S.R., 1926, No. 58, Art. 426) is repealed.

9. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics are commissioned to establish, in conformity with this decree, a procedure governing relations of state agencies of the Union Republics and their officials with agencies and officials of foreign states.

Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.
N. SHVERNIK

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.
A. GORKIN

Moscow, the Kremlin, 16 December 1947.

[SOURCE: *Vedomosti verkhovnogo soveta, SSSR*, No. 5 (504), 25 January 1948]

J. V. STALIN'S SPEECH

On the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance at Dinner in Honor of Finnish Government Delegation, April 7, 1948.

I should like to say a few words about the significance of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance signed yesterday between the Soviet Union and Finland.

This Treaty signifies a turn in the relations between our countries. It is known that in the course of 150 years, relations between Russia and Finland were marked by mutual mistrust. The Finns mistrusted the Russians, while the Russians mistrusted the Finns.

In the past the Soviet side made an attempt to break the mistrust which existed between the Russians and the Finns. This happened when Lenin proclaimed the independence of Finland in 1917. This was an outstanding act from the viewpoint of history. Unfortunately, however, this failed to break the mistrust; the mistrust remained mistrust. As a result there were two wars between us.

My wish is that from the lengthy period of mutual mistrust, in the course of which we fought each other twice, we should pass to a new period in our relations—a period of mutual trust. It is necessary that the Treaty we have concluded should break this mistrust and create a new basis for the relations between our peoples, and that it should signify an important turn in the relations between the two countries in the direction of trust and friendship.

We wish this to be well understood, not only by those present in this hall, but also by those who are outside of this hall, both in Finland and in the Soviet Union.

We should not think that mistrust between peoples can be liquidated at once. You cannot accomplish this quickly. The survivals of mistrust, its wake, remain for a long time, and to liquidate them we should work much and struggle to form traditions of mutual friendship between the USSR and Finland and to make these traditions enduring.

There are equal and unequal treaties. The Soviet-Finnish Treaty is an equal Treaty, for it has been concluded on the basis of complete equality of the parties.

Many people do not believe that relations between a big nation and a small nation can be equal. But we Soviet people hold that such relations can and must exist. Soviet people hold that each nation—whether big or small—has its own qualitative peculiarities, its specific nature, which belong only to it and which other nations lack. These

peculiar features form the contribution which each nation makes to the common treasury of world culture and which supplements and enriches it. In this sense all nations—big and small—are in a similar position, and each nation is equivalent to every other nation.

For this reason Soviet people hold that although Finland is a small country, she comes out in this Treaty as an equal of the Soviet Union.

Not many politicians can be found in the great Powers who would regard the small nations as being equal to the big nations. The majority of them look down, from above, on the small nations. Sometimes they are not averse to giving a unilateral guarantee to the small nations. But, generally speaking, these politicians do not agree to conclude equal treaties with small nations since they do not treat small nations as their partners.

I raise my glass to the Soviet-Finnish Treaty, to that turn for the better in the relations between our countries which this Treaty signifies.

[SOURCE: *Soviet News*, April 14, 1948]

TEXT OF SOVIET-HUNGARIAN TREATY

The following is the text of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Hungarian Republic:—

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the President of the Hungarian Republic, with the object of promoting friendly relations between the USSR and Hungary, being convinced that the consolidation of good-neighboring relations, co-operation and friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Hungary meets their vital interests and will best contribute to the economic development of both States, expressing the unswerving desire for co-operation in the interests of the consolidation of general peace and security in conformity with the aims and principles of the United Nations Organization, have decided to conclude for those ends the present Treaty and to appoint as their plenipotentiary representatives: the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; the President of the Hungarian Republic—Lajos Dinnyes, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian Republic, who, upon exchanging their credentials, found in due form and full order, have agreed on the following:—

ARTICLE I

The high contracting parties undertake to take jointly all measures at their disposal for the purpose of eliminating any threat of repetition of aggression on the part of Germany or any other State which would unite with Germany directly or in any other form. The high contracting parties re-affirm their intention to participate most sincerely in all international actions aimed at ensuring peace and the security of the nations and will fully contribute their share to the cause of the implementation of these lofty tasks.

ARTICLE II.

In the event of one of the high contracting parties being involved in hostilities with Germany or with any State which took part jointly with Germany in acts of aggression in Europe, which would try to resume their aggressive policy, or with any other State which would directly or in any other form unite with Germany in a policy of aggression, the other high contracting party will immediately render the contracting party involved in hostilities military and every other assistance with all the means at its disposal. The implementation of the present Treaty will conform to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations Organization.

ARTICLE III.

Each of the high contracting parties undertakes not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition or in actions or measures aimed against the other high contracting party.

ARTICLE IV.

The high contracting parties will consult with each other in regard to all important international problems affecting the interests of both countries.

ARTICLE V.

The high contracting parties re-affirm their determination to act in a spirit of co-operation and friendship for the purpose of the further development and consolidation of economic and cultural ties between the USSR and Hungary; they will observe the principles of mutual respect for their independence, State sovereignty and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of the other State.

ARTICLE VI.

The present Treaty shall be valid for 20 years from the day of its coming into force. Unless one of the high contracting parties gives notice, one year before the expiration of this term, of its desire to renounce the Treaty, it will remain in force for the next five years, and so on each time until either of the high contracting parties gives

notice in writing, one year before the expiration of the current five year term, of its intention to discontinue the operation of the Treaty.

The present Treaty is subject to ratification within as short a time as possible and will come into force on the day of the exchange of the ratification instruments, which will take place in Budapest in the near future.

In testimony whereof the plenipotentiary representatives have signed the present Treaty and affixed their seals thereto. Made in Moscow on February 18, 1948, in two copies, each in the Russian and Hungarian languages, both texts being equally valid.

(Signed)

On behalf of the Presidium of the
Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.,
V. M. MOLOTOV.

On behalf of the President
of the Hungarian Republic,
LAJOS DINNYES.

[SOURCE: *Soviet News*, 2/19/48]

TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, CO-OPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Presidium of the Rumanian People's Republic, wishing to seal the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Rumania, filled with a desire to maintain close co-operation in the interests of the consolidation of universal peace and security in conformity with the aims and principles of the United Nations Organization, convinced that the maintenance of friendship and good-neighborly relations between the Soviet Union and Rumania meets the vital interests of the peoples of both States and will best contribute to their economic development, decided to conclude the present Treaty for this purpose and to appoint as their plenipotentiary representatives: Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—Vyacheslav Molotov, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister of the USSR; Presidium of the Rumanian People's Republic—Petru Groza, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic; who upon exchange of their credentials, found to be in due form and order, agreed upon the following:—

ARTICLE I.

The high contracting parties undertake jointly to take all measures at their disposal to eliminate any threat of repetition of aggression on the part of Germany or of any other State which would unite with Germany directly or in any other form.

The high contracting parties declare that they intend to parti-

cipate most sincerely in all international actions aimed at ensuring peace and the security of nations, and will fully make their contribution to the cause of the realization of these lofty tasks.

ARTICLE II.

In the event of one of the high contracting parties being involved in hostilities with Germany, should the latter try to resume her aggressive policy, or with any other State which should directly or in any other form unite with Germany in a policy of aggression, the other high contracting party will immediately render military and other assistance with all means at its disposal to the contracting party involved in hostilities.

Implementation of the present Treaty will conform to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations organisation.

ARTICLE III.

Each of the high contracting parties undertakes not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition or actions or measures directed against the other high contracting party.

ARTICLE IV.

The high contracting parties will consult each other on all important international problems involving the interests of both countries.

ARTICLE V.

The high contracting parties declare that they will act in a spirit of friendship and co-operation for the purpose of the further development and consolidation of the economic and cultural links between the two States, adhering to the principles of mutual respect for their independence and sovereignty as well as of non-interference in the internal affairs of the other State.

ARTICLE VI.

The present Treaty will be valid for 20 years from the date it is signed. If at the end of this 20-year term neither of the high contracting parties has given notice one year before the expiration of this term of its desire to terminate the Treaty, it shall remain valid for the next five years, and so on until either of the high contracting parties gives notice in writing one year before the expiration of the current five-year term of its intention to terminate its operation.

The present Treaty comes into force immediately upon its signing and is subject to ratification within the shortest time possible.

The exchange of ratification instruments will take place in Bucharest in the near future.

In testimony whereof the plenipotentiary representatives signed the present Treaty and affixed their seals thereto.

Made in Moscow on February 4, 1948, in two copies, each in the Russian and Rumanian Languages, both texts having equal force.

(Signed)

On the authorization of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR,
V. M. MOLOTOV.

On the authorization of the Presidium
of the Rumanian People's Republic,
DR. PETRU GROZA.

[SOURCE: *Soviet News*, February 5, 1948]

TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, CO-OPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic for the purpose of further developing and consolidating friendly relations between the USSR and Bulgaria, convinced that the consolidation of friendship between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria meets the vital interests of the peoples of both States and will best contribute to their economic development, filled with the desire to co-operate in the interests of universal peace and security in conformity with the aims and principles of the United Nations—have decided to conclude the present Treaty for this purpose and have appointed as their plenipotentiary representatives: the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—Vyacheslav Molotov, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister of the USSR; the Presidium of the Bulgarian People's Republic—George Dimitroff, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, who, upon exchange of their credentials found in due form and full order, agreed upon the following:—

ARTICLE I.

The high contracting parties undertake to take jointly all measures within their power to eliminate any threat of a resumption of aggression on the part of Germany or of any other State which would unite with Germany directly or in any other form. The high contracting parties declare their intention to participate in a spirit of most sincere co-operation in all international actions aimed at ensuring peace and security and will fully make their contribution to the realization of these lofty tasks.

ARTICLE II.

In the event of one of the high contracting parties being involved in hostilities with Germany which would try to resume her aggressive policy, or with any other State which would directly or in any other form unite with Germany in a policy of aggression, the other high

contracting party will immediately render military and every other assistance with all means at its disposal to the contracting party involved in hostilities. The implementation of the present Treaty will conform to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

ARTICLE III.

Each of the high contracting parties undertakes not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition or actions or measures directed against the other high contracting party.

ARTICLE IV.

The high contracting parties will consult with each other on all important international problems involving the interests of both countries.

ARTICLE V.

The high contracting parties declare that they will develop and consolidate economic and cultural connections between the two States in a spirit of friendship and co-operation, adhering to the principles of mutual respect for their independence and sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of the other State.

ARTICLE VI.

The present Treaty will be valid for 20 years from the date of its signing. If at the end of this 20-year term neither of the high contracting parties gives notice, one year before the expiration of this term, of its desire to terminate the Treaty, it shall remain valid for a further five years, and so on, until either of the high contracting parties gives notice in writing, one year before the expiration of the then current five-year term, of its intention to terminate the operation of the Treaty.

The present Treaty comes into force immediately upon its signing and is subject to ratification within the shortest possible time. The exchange of ratification instruments will take place in Sofia in the near future.

In testimony whereof the plenipotentiary representatives have signed the present Treaty and affixed their seals to it.

Made in Moscow on March 18, 1948, in two copies each in the Russian and Bulgarian languages, both texts having equal force.

(Signed)

On authorization of the Presidium
of Supreme Soviet of the USSR,
V. M. MOLOTOV.

On authorization of the Presidium
of the Grand National Assembly
of the Bulgarian People's Republic,
G. DIMITROFF.

[SOURCE: *Soviet Monitor*, March 19, 1948]

SOME RECENT ARTICLES ON THE SOVIET UNION

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

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NEWS CHRONOLOGY

JANUARY 1, 1948 to APRIL 30, 1948

Newspapers are named primarily for convenient reference, although the same items may appear in other newspapers. The date given is the date on which the event occurred, while the number in parenthesis following the name of the newspaper indicates the date of the paper in which the report appeared. Unless otherwise indicated, the source is *The New York Times*. (HT—*New York Herald Tribune*; DW—*Daily Worker*; EB—*Information Bulletin*, Soviet Embassy, Washington; DSB—*Department of State Bulletin*; FCW—*Foreign Commerce Weekly*; Iz.—*Izvestia*; Pr.—*Pravda*; SN—*Soviet News* of the Soviet Embassy, London; SM—*Soviet Monitor*, TASS Agency, London.)

*Full texts in English can be found in source indicated. These texts are on file in the library of the American Russian Institute.

PEOPLE

Appointments; Honors; Obituaries, Etc.*

January 1, 1948 — April 30, 1948

- Abramov, Aleksandr N. — Released on January 12, because of illness from duties as Ambassador to Finland. (*Vedomosti* January 15)
- Berdyev, Allaberdy — Relieved from his duties as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Turkmenia in view of his departure for purposes of study. (*SM* March 8)
- Bezymensky, Aleksandr I. — Famous poet is awarded the Red Banner of Labor on his 50th birthday, Feb. 11. (*Vedomosti* Feb. 18)
- Chemberdzhii, Nikolai K. — Prominent Soviet composer dies at the age of 45. (*SM* April 25)
- Donskoi, Mark S. — Film director receives Stalin Prize, first class — 100,000 rubles, for his work on *The Village Teacher*. (*Iz.* April 2)
- Eisenstein, Sergei M. — Famous film director and producer dies in Moscow on Feb. 10 at the age of 50. (Feb. 12), (*NYHT* Feb. 12)
- Galaktionov, Major General Mikhail R. — Soviet Military observer and journalist dies in Moscow. (*PM* April 1)
- Glier, Reingold N. — Soviet composer, Peoples Artist of the USSR, receives Stalin Prize, first class — 100,000 rubles, for his quartet No. 4 (*SM* April 21)
- Gorshenin, Konstantin P. — Released from his duties as Procurator General on Feb. 4 and appointed Minister of Justice of the USSR. (*NYHT* Feb. 6)
- Grashchenkov, Nikolai I. — Named President of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences. (Feb. 9)
- Kalashnikov, Aleksei G. — Minister of Education of the RSFSR relieved of his office. He is replaced by Voznesensky, A. A. (*NYHT* Jan. 26)
- Kazakpaev, Abdisamet — Released from his duties as Vice-Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Feb. 4. (*Vedomosti* Feb. 13)

* For writers, recipients of 1947 Stalin literary prizes see p. 59.

- Kerimbaev, Danial — Elected Vice-Chairman of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Feb. 4. (*Vedomosti* Feb. 13)
- Khrapchenko, Mikhail B. — Dismissed as Chairman of The Committee on Arts of the USSR. Replaced by Lebedev, Polikarp I. (*Pr.* Feb. 6)
- Korchagina-Aleksandrovskaja, Ekaterina P. — Famous actress, Peoples Artist of the USSR, is awarded The Order of Lenin on her 60th birthday, March 2. (*Vedomosti* March 10)
- Kosygin, Aleksei N. — Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers and an alternate member of the Politburo, named Minister of Finance of the USSR on Feb. 16. (Feb. 17, 18), (*Vedomosti* Feb. 27)
- Kozlov, Vasilii I. — Elected Chairman of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR to replace Natalevich, N. V. (*Iz.* March 18)
- Laktionov, Aleksandr I. — Artist, receives Stalin Prize, first class — 100,000 rubles, for his painting *Letter from the Front*. (*SM* April 21)
- Lavrishchev, Aleksandr A. — Appointed Soviet Ambassador to Turkey on Feb. 13th, succeeding Vinogradov, Sergei A. (*Vedomosti* March 5)
- Lebedev, Polikarp I. — Replaces Khrapchenko, Mikhail B. as chairman of the Committee on Arts of the USSR. (*Pr.* Feb. 6)
- Liubimov, Aleksandr V. — Dismissed as Minister of Trade of the USSR for unsatisfactory work. Replaced by Zhavoronkov, Vasilii G. (*Iz.* March 3)
- Lomakin, Yakov M. — Soviet Consul General in New York is given diplomatic rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary II class on March 24. (*Vedomosti* April 4)
- Manuilsky, Dmitri Z. — Ukrainian Foreign Minister, formally designated Ukrainian representative to the United Nations Security Council. (*NYHT* January 10)
- Mikhoels, Solomon M. — Art director of the Moscow Jewish Theatre, famous actor, producer and teacher dies on January 13. (Jan. 14), (*NYHT* Jan. 15)
- Natalevich, Nikifor V. — Released from his duties as chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR. Kozlov, V. I. elected to replace him. (*NYHT* March 19), *Iz.* March 18)
- Ostrovitianov, K. V. — Dr. of Economics, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR becomes the head of the newly organized Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences after its merger with the Institute of World Economics and World Politics which was headed by E. Varga. (Jan. 25, 26), (*NYHT* Jan. 27)
- Petrov, Apollon A. — Released on Feb. 24 from duties as Ambassador to China because of illness. (*Pr.* Feb. 25)
- Piall', Eduard N. — Elected Vice-Chairman of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Feb. 4. (*Vedomosti* Feb. 13)
- Romm, Mikhail I. — Film director receives Stalin Prize, first class—100,000 rubles, for his work on *The Russian Question*. (*Iz.* Apr. 2)
- Roshchin, Maj. Gen. Nikolai V. — Appointed Soviet Ambassador to China, on Feb. 24, succeeding Petrov, Appolon. (*Vedomosti* Mar. 5)
- Rychkov, Nikolai — Dismissed as Minister of Justice of the USSR, replaced by Gorshenin, K. P. (*NYHT* Feb. 6)
- Safonov, Grigorii N. — Is named Procurator General of the USSR on Feb. 4. (*Vedomosti* Feb. 13)

- Saryev, Akmemed — Elected Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Turkmenia. (*SM* Mar. 8)
- Savonenkov, G. M. — Appointed Soviet Minister to Finland, January 12, arrives in Helsinki on January 15. (*SN* Jan. 16), (*Vedomosti* Jan. 25)
- Serov, Vladimir A. — Artist receives Stalin Prize first class—100,000 rubles for his painting *Lenin Proclaims Soviet Power*. (*SM* Apr. 21)
- Shchusev, Aleksei V. — Prominent architect, receives Stalin Prize first class—100,000 rubles, for his plans for the State Academic Theatre of Opera and Ballet in Tashkent, Uzbek SSR (*SM* April 21)
- Silin, Mikhail, A. — Appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USSR to Czechoslovakia on Mar. 6. (*Vedomosti* Mar. 21). Arrives in Prague on March 27. (*NYHT* Mar. 28)
- Tallat-Kelpsha, Iosef A. — Composer, receives Stalin Prize first class—100,000 rubles, for his *Cantata on Stalin*. (*Iz.* April 2)
- Tarasenko, Vasilii A. — Counselor of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, named permanent deputy representative for the Ukraine on the United Nations Security Council. (*NYHT* Jan. 10)
- Tsarapkin, Semen O. — Charge d'affaires of the Soviet Embassy in Washington named Soviet representative on the United Nations Trusteeship Council. (April 26)
- Varga, Evgenii S. — Relieved of his post as the head of the Institute of World Economics and World Politics (merged with the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Science under the directorship of Ostrovitianov, K. V.). (Jan. 25, 26), (*NYHT* Jan. 27)
- Vavilov, Academician Sergei I. — Elected honorary member of the Indian Academy of Sciences, and together with other leading Soviet scientists (see chronology, p 104) receives an honorary doctorate from Prague University. (*Iz.* Apr. 6).
- Veselov, Maj. General Vladimir S. — Chief of agitation and propaganda of the armed forces central political department, dies on Mar. 3. (*NYHT* Mar. 4)
- Vinogradov, Sergei A. — Released on Feb. 23 from duties as Ambassador to Turkey in connection with his transfer to other work. (*Pr.* Feb. 24)
- Vlasov, Ivan A. — Elected Vice-Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Feb. 4. (*Vedomosti* Feb. 13)
- Vologdin, Dr. Aleksandr G. — Corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and distinguished scientist at the Paleontological Institute in Moscow is awarded the Charles Doolittle Walcott bronze medal and award for 1947 by the National Academy of Sciences, highest scientific body in the U.S. (Apr. 28)
- Voznesensky, Aleksandr A. — Appointed minister of Education of the RSFSR (*NYHT* Jan. 26)
- Zhavoronkov, Vasilii G. — Appointed Minister of Trade of the USSR (Mar. 4)
- Zherbak, Prof. Anton R. — Expert on genetics removed from his post as President of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences. He is replaced by Grashchenkov, Nikolai I. (Feb. 9)
- Zverev, Arsenii G. — Relieved of his post on Feb. 16 as Minister of Finance of the USSR. Demoted to First Deputy Minister. He is replaced by Kosygin, A.N. (Feb. 17, 18), (*Vedomosti* Feb. 27)

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Administration

JANUARY

- 7—A decree is signed renaming the the Oirot Autonomous Region of the Altai Territory, the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region; also renaming town of Oirot-Tura, Gorno-Altai. *Vedomosti*. (15)
- 24—A special session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet marks the thirteenth anniversary of the Republic; addresses made by Molotov and Khrushchev with the latter urging a struggle against "Ukrainian - German nationalists who, after the rout of their bosses—the German Fascists—entered the service of Anglo-American imperialists . . ." *NYHT* (26)
- 27—Decree introduces uniform system in relations between Soviet institutions and officials, and citizens of other countries. Communications must be channeled through the Foreign Affairs Ministry or the Foreign Trade Ministry. (28) See p. 62 for text.
- 30—At the opening of the fourth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR today, the third post-war budget is submitted, calling for 388 billion ruble expenditures (173 billion in 1940), with greatest share going to national economy and next to social-cultural services. *NYHT* (Feb. 3.)

FEBRUARY

- 4—The Supreme Soviet approves the State Budget of the USSR for 1948 and ratifies decrees signed during 1947 and 1948 which include: abolition of the death penalty, the increase of penalties for divulging state secrets, the banning of marriages to foreigners, formation of the Ministry of

the Automobile and Tractor Industry and the Ministry of Timber Industry of the USSR, changing of the name of the Oirot Autonomous Region (see Jan. 7 above), the strengthening of the protection of personal property of Soviet citizens, and ratification of recent appointments. *Pr*. (6)

MARCH

- 10—The Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR meets. *NYHT* (11). (For information on the meetings of the Supreme Soviets of the Republics of Estonia, Turkmenia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaidzhan, Latvia, Georgia, Belorussia, Kirgizia, Armenia, the Karelo-Finnish SSR, the Ukraine and Lithuania, see *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, March 1, 4, 10, 12, 17, 23, 25, 27, 30 and April 5)
- 13—The Law on the RSFSR budget for 1948 and the Law of the changes and additions in the text of the Constitution of the RSFSR, are signed. 1947 laws and appointments are ratified. *Iz*. (17)

APRIL

- 30—The Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union greet the people of the Cherkess Autonomous Region on the twentieth anniversary of its establishment. *Iz*. (30)

Armed Forces

JANUARY

- 31—The 1948 budget submitted to the Supreme Soviet reduces expenditures for armed forces by 2.5 billion rubles as compared with 1947, allocating 66 billion rubles or 17 per cent of the total budget to this item (32.4 per cent in 1940, 52.5 per cent in 1944). *NYHT* (Feb. 1, 3)

FEBRUARY

22—Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin, Soviet Deputy Premier and Minister of the Armed Forces, marking the thirtieth anniversary of the Soviet army and navy, says that "while imperialism exists, there remains a danger of attack on our country . . . The world situation compels us to live in constant fighting preparedness . . ." He cautions against "tranquility, complacency or conceit in our ranks" and at the same time notes that "the Soviet Union is firmly pursuing its peace-loving foreign policy, marching in the vanguard of the progressive forces fighting for a firm and enduring democratic peace, for the security of nations." (23) *NYHT* (24)

22—In honor of the 30th Anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet establishes the jubilee medal "30 Years of the Soviet Army and Navy" to be awarded to Generals, Admirals, officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers and sailors in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR. *Vedomosti* (27)

23—Marshal Bulganin, stating that the "Soviet Union wants no war and seeks to establish the most friendly relations with all countries that fulfill their obligations," declares that the U.S., British and French "warmongers" are planning a third world war to get themselves out of economic and political difficulties. He also says that the Soviet Army has completed its conversion to a peacetime basis. (24)

MARCH

15—In accordance with the sixth demobilization decree of the Supreme Soviet in February, by the

end of March the army contingent will consist in the main of two age groups—those born in 1926 and in 1927. (16). Moscow radio declares two days later that the Soviet Union is the world's only great power "to place its armed forces really on a peacetime footing . . ." *NYHT* (17, 18), *Iz.* (16)

24—Minister of Higher Education S. V. Kaftanov announces abolition of military instruction for women students in higher educational institutions as of April 1st. (25)

APRIL

30—In an Order of the Day issued by Marshal N. A. Bulganin, Minister of Armed Forces, on the eve of the May 1 Celebration, reference is made to "the intrigues of international reaction directed against our country and the countries of the new democracy and against the cause of peace throughout the world," and officers are urged to give special attention to the young men remaining in the armed forces after demobilization of the senior age groups. (May 1)

Culture—Arts and Sciences, Sports

JANUARY

2—The 245th Anniversary of the appearance of the first Russian newspaper is observed. *NYHT* (4)

9—During 1947 Soviet sportsmen set 238 new all-union records including shooting, motorcycling, water sports, etc. Many set new world records. *Pravda* (9)

FEBRUARY

8—Soviet music critics, composers, and choreographers discuss harmful effects of American jazz. *NYHT* (9)

11—Declaring its warnings issued in

September, 1946, for the elimination of bourgeois influence in music have been ignored, the Central Committee of the Party criticizes Shostakovich, Khatchaturian, Prokofieff, as well as other composers, and outlines the goals to be sought in the future by the Composers Union, the Moscow Conservatory, the governmental Arts Committee, etc. (12) Full text available at ARI.

- 17—A meeting of the Union of Soviet Composers discusses the specific works considered formalistic and dissonant, including Muradeli's opera "Great Friendship," Prokofieff's cantata "Blossom the Mighty Land" and his Sixth Symphony, Shostakovich's "Poem of the Motherland," etc., and receives word from Prokofieff that his new opera will avoid his past errors, which he admits. *NYHT* (19)
- 23—Criticism of trends and individuals in the fields of painting, sculpture, and theater marks a two day meeting of the Arts Committee of the Council of Ministers. *NYHT* (25)

MARCH

- 4—Mikhail Botvinnik defeats Dr. Euwe, former world's champion, at the international tournament for the chess championship of the world, held at The Hague. (5)
- 7—Government subsidies to theaters, which amounted to 714 million rubles in 1947, are abolished. (8)
- 11—Ministry of Education announces pensions amounting to 40 per cent of pay for all schoolteachers who have taught for 25 years. (12)
- 17—*Pravda* claims for Russian scientists the discovery of penicillin, recalling the extensive observations

of green mold made by Russian biologists in 1870 and its successful use by Dr. Lebedinski in the 1870's to heal wounds. *NYHT* (18)

APRIL

- 1—Mikhail Suslov, Party propaganda chief, criticizes *Izvestia* and *Red Star* as well as Tass and *Literaturnaia Gazeta* for inadequate news coverage, literature reviews, slowness. *NYHT* (2)
- 2—1947 Stalin prizes in literature, drama, poetry and cinema are announced. *Iz.* (2)
- 21—Stalin Prizes in music, painting, sculpture, architecture and ballet are announced. *Iz.* (21)

Economy

JANUARY

- 3—Restoration of the first section of the Dnepr Dam power station is completed. *NYHT* (11)
- 14—Soviet gains in textile output are cited by I. K. Sedin, Minister of the Textile Industry, with 1947 percentage increases in production of cotton, woolen and silk cloth exceeding those of 1946, and further increases set for 1948. (15)
- 15—Taxes on collective farm market transactions are reduced for the second time since the installation of such taxes in 1942, in keeping with lowered prices now being charged in market. (28), *Vedomosti* (25)
- 19—The State Planning Commission reports that the country's economy "attained and surpassed the targets set for the second year of the postwar Five Year Plan." Gross industrial output of industry increased 22 percent in 1947 over 1946. The data cited show that some ministries exceeded the plan for gross industrial output (Chemical Industry, 114 per

- cent; Building Materials, 101, Heavy Engineering, 105, etc.) while some ministries fell somewhat short (the lowest being the Transport Machinery Industry, 94 per cent). The harvest yield of grain crops in 1947 reached the pre-war level, representing an increase of 58 per cent over 1946. *SM* (19), *SN* (19)*, *Iz.* (18).
- 19.—As a result of better crops, Soviet Russia is increasing grain exports, with countries in Eastern Europe getting the major share, U.S. agriculture officials declare. *NYHT* (20)
- 20.—President Truman sends Congress a report showing the gold holdings of the Soviet Union are larger than those of any nation except the U.S., the Soviets' having \$2,500,000,000 worth of monetary gold, plus \$50,000,000 in dollar balances in the U.S., (21), *NYHT* (21)
- 23.—Success is reported in growing colored cotton, with green and brown already widely sown and experiments continuing with rose and blue. *NYHT* (24)
- 24.—With the plan for housing construction in 1947 not fulfilled, the newly elected Moscow Soviet calls for increased efforts. (25)
- 26.—*Pravda* criticizes economist Eugene Varga for views running contrary to the Marxist principle that capitalism cannot avoid depressions, unemployment and the poverty of the working class and the view that capitalist states acquire a "decisive importance" under a war economy. Both views appeared in his book "Changes in the Economics of Capitalism as a Result of the Second World War." (26)
- 30.—A session of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions is brought to a close, after recommending wider application of the piece-rate and bonus systems in the thousands of trade union contracts that will be signed during the next few months. Chairman Kuznetsov reported that 1947 agreements were concluded after wide discussion which brought forth over 700,000 suggestions. (31)
- FEBRUARY
- 3.—The budget committees of the Supreme Soviet criticize uneconomical methods in industry (railway, coal) and excessive costs in republic government, with Belorussia, Kirgizia, Tadzhikistan, and Georgia exceeding their 1946 budgets. Deputies from Moscow and Leningrad charge a lag in housing construction in both cities. (4)
- 4.—Construction is reported of five new railroads to the borders of Manchuria and the Mongolian People's Republic, with one line linking Ulan Ude and Naushkin. (5)
- 6.—The movement of Soviet factories to return their state subsidies gains momentum when the director of the Gurev Metal Works in the Kuznetsk Basin writes in *Trud* that his workers expect to produce at a profit without subsidy and will in turn pay back 10 million rubles to the state treasury in 1948. (7)
- 25.—The Central Committee of the trade unions decrees that pay-books be issued to all workers so they may see whether they are being paid the correct amounts. (26)
- MARCH
- 5.—*Izvestia* discloses that agricultural areas are lagging in providing their quotas of students for la-

bor reserve schools, in contrast to the urban response to the semi-annual call-up on February 15. (6)

MARCH

- 9, 10—The UN monthly Bulletin of Statistics notes that Soviet industrial production increased in 1947 to twenty-two percent above the 1946 level and that the goals for the first two years of the fourth Five-Year Plan have been fulfilled 100%. On the whole, the 1947 achievement was 3.5 percent above the target set for the year. (10), *DW* (10)

- 11—RSFSR Minister of Finance A. M. Safronov at the opening session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet criticizes the ministries of Textile Industry and of Housing and Construction as well as those concerned with food production for the failure of many of their plants to fulfill 1947 quotas, and declares that "Such a situation cannot be permitted in 1948." (12)

- 16—Announcement is made that construction has begun on a third project to use Volga power, a gigantic hydroelectric station near Gorky, with a large part of the power to go to Gorky and Moscow industry. *NYHT* (17)

APRIL

- 1—Data indicate there are 1,381 towns and 1,982 urban settlements in the USSR as of April, 1947, the war having contributed to the urbanization process. *NYHT* (7)

- 8—A Lithuanian decree offers liberal bank loans and other inducements to encourage peasants to join together in collective farms. *NYHT* (9)

- 9—New price reductions effective

tomorrow are decreed, ranging from 10 to 20 per cent, and affecting a variety of consumer goods (automobiles, bicycles, cameras, cigarettes, vitamins, liquors, etc.) (10), *Iz.* (10)

- 15—A report on the first quarter of 1948 indicates gross industrial production in the Soviet Union increased by 32 per cent and the purchasing power of the ruble by 41 per cent compared with the corresponding period of 1947. *NYHT* (16)

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Religion

JANUARY

- 10—Patriarch Alexei of Moscow, world spiritual leader of the Russian Orthodox Church, announces that Metropolitan Theophilus of New York and four other leaders of the autonomous Russian Orthodox Church in North America will be tried by a Court of Bishops for "their stubborn attempts to split the church." *NYHT* (11)

- 27—A decree of the Holy Synod assigns Metropolitan Benjamin to Riga and appoints Archbishop Makarius in his place as exarch for North and South America. *NYHT* (28)

- 29—The Russian Orthodox Church in *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* announces its support of Soviet policies and declares that it "sympathizes with the oppressed in their aspiration to be free from the enslavement of capital." *NYHT* (30)

FEBRUARY

- 9—The Greek Orthodox Eastern Church is rebuked for refusing to participate in a congress of the Slavonic and Eastern Churches called by Patriarch Alexei of Moscow. *NYHT* (10)

MARCH

- 26—A delegation of the Rumanian Orthodox Church leaves for Moscow to attend a preliminary conference designed to organize the Rumanian, Bulgarian, and Yugoslav Orthodox Churches into a Congress under the leadership of Moscow Patriarch Aexei. (27)

APRIL

- 3—Archbishop Lucas of the Crimea (a distinguished professor of surgery who won the Stalin Prize in

1945 for new methods of wound treatment; his lay name is Felizovich Voino-Yasenetski) writing in the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* declares materialism alien to the Church but welcomes "all the good, full of social truth, that the new state gave us." He also declares that the government has given the church full freedom and does not interfere in the internal affairs of the church. *NYHT* (4)

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United Nations

JANUARY

- 3—UN will set up an information center in Moscow on Jan. 15; its purpose will be to collect comment and reaction to UN developments. *NYHT* (4)

- 19—The Soviet Union and the Ukraine turn down invitations to provide experts to give their opinions on the structure of the proposed international agency for the control of atomic energy. The Ukrainian delegate, Prof. Skobeltsyn says it will not be useful to send experts because there is no basic agreement. (20)

- 29—Gromyko tells members of the UN Atomic Energy Commission that existing stockpiles of atomic bombs possessed by the U.S. must be destroyed before the Soviet Government will agree to the setting up of the proposed international atomic control authority. (30)

FEBRUARY

- 2—With the Soviet representative Lomakin casting the single dissenting vote, the UN Subcommittee on Freedom of the Press approves, 9-1, a report embodying the entire work of its two-

week session. Lomakin votes against the report on the ground that the subcommission has not taken action at this session on such important duties of the press as the exposure of warmongers and the "remnants of fascism." (3)

- 20—The Ukrainian delegate to the UN, V. A. Tarasenko, tells the Security Council that big business and the diplomacy of the U.S. are helping the Dutch "crush" the Indonesian people and share responsibility for the bloodshed in the Netherlands Indies. (21)

- 26—Gromyko asserts that the U.S. is trying to "strangle" the Republic of Indonesia, that the U.S. and "some other colonial powers" are helping the Netherlands set up a smoke-screen behind which the Hague can re-establish its control of the Netherlands Indies. (27)

MARCH

- 2—Backing the U.S. proposal that the Security Council accept partition as the solution to the Palestine question, the Soviet Union urges "direct negotiations" among the Big Five as the best approach to the whole problem. However,

- the Soviet delegate rejects the portion of the proposal calling for efforts to persuade the Arabs to accept partition, while noting that there is an invitation open to them to deal with the UN Palestine Commission (3) *NYHT* (3)
- 5—On the basis of a U.S.-Soviet resolution, the UN Security Council decides to ask the Big Five to consult and submit to it by March 15 recommendations for instruction to the Palestine Commission "with a view of implementing the resolution of the General Assembly." (6) *
- 8, 9—The Soviet Union presses for a prompt decision on steps to carry out the partition of Palestine while the U.S. hopes that a settlement satisfactory to both Jews and Arabs can be worked out. (9) *NYHT*, *DW* (10)
- 10—Jan Papanek, Czech chief delegate to UN states that the Soviet Union has installed a Communist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia by threat of arms and demands an investigation by the Security Council. (11) *
- 11—Papanek announces that in the event of failure to get his complaint against the Soviet Union before the world organization in the Security Council, he will try the Little Assembly. Trygve Lie, Secretary General of UN had ruled originally that since the complaint was not authorized by the Czech government it constituted a non-governmental communication ineligible for direct transmission to the Council. Delegates seated in the Little Assembly who wish to institute a complaint must have credentials signed either by the head of a state or by a country's foreign minister. *NYHT* (12)
- 11, 12—Dr. Arutiunian Soviet representative on the Economic and Social Council tells that body that the U.S. is shrinking from partition enforcement in Palestine because it is swayed by political considerations and oil interests in Arab countries. On the same day, Gromyko opposes renewed efforts of the U.S. to extend the four-power consultations on Palestine to include Jews and Arabs. Ignoring objections, the U.S., France and China bring the Jewish agency into the big power talks. (1), *NYHT* (12, 13)
- 12—The government of Chile formally accuses the Soviet Union of threatening world peace and demands that the Security Council investigate what it says is Moscow's part in the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia. (13) *
- 14, 17—Following the backing of the U.S. on Chile's demand for Security Council debate on charges that Russia brought about the coup in Czechoslovakia by threat of arms, and after overriding opposition from the Soviet Union, the Security Council votes 9 to 2 to debate the issue. *NYHT* (15, 18) *
- 22—The British delegate Cadogan attacks events in Czechoslovakia as Soviet planned and directed and says "this tide must be dammed back" even at the risk of war. *NYHT* (23) *
- 23—Gromyko asserts that the U.S. and Great Britain have "raised a howl" over events in Czechoslovakia in order to divert attention from their own interference in France, Greece and Italy, and states that what took place in Czechoslovakia was brought about by the need for "reorganization and democratic principles." (24)

- 25—The Soviet Union announces that it has ratified the constitution of the World Health Organization, becoming the third of the five great powers to join and the twenty-fourth member of the UN to become a full party of the agency. (26)
- 29—After Gromyko's statement that the Soviet delegation will not "give up the basic principles which have been expressed in its proposals, and especially concerning its proposals on the prohibition of atomic weapons," eight of the eleven nations on the UN Atomic Energy Commission agree that there is "no useful purpose" in further discussing Soviet proposals for control of atomic energy. *NYHT* (30)
- 30, April 5 — Amid recriminations over who is to blame and amid Ukrainian charges that American and British militarists aim at "preparation for a new war," the UN Atomic Energy Commission Control Committee formally closes its work on plans for control of atomic energy April 5. *NYHT* (31, April 16)
- 30—Gromyko says the U.S. new trusteeship plan for Palestine is a camouflaged effort to convert the Holy Land into an American-British military base under the pretext of keeping order there, and that the U.S. is trying to kill Palestine partition because the Arabs' opposition to partition endangers American oil and military interests in the Middle East. *NYHT* (31)

APRIL

- 10—For the third time, a Soviet veto in the Security Council blocks admission of Italy to the United Nations. Gromyko insists again that all former enemy states

should be admitted en bloc, or none should come in, and that the U.S. in its support for Italian entry is making a bid for Italian electoral support. (11)

- 12—The U.S. calls on the Security Council to set up a five-nation subcommittee to hear witnesses in the Czech case, but the Soviet Union says that any such move will run into a Soviet veto. Gromyko says that the U.S. touched off the Czech political crisis in February by trying to install a "reactionary regime" that could be "commanded by the U.S." and denies that the Soviet Union helped Czech Communists win control in Prague. *NYHT* (13)
- 25—The Soviet Union joins the UN Trusteeship Council, naming Semen K. Tsarapkin to fill the twelfth chair of that council. (26)
- 29—U.S. challenges the right of the Soviet Union to veto the appointment by the Security Council of a subcommittee to hear evidence on Russia's part in the change of government in Czechoslovakia. (30)

Austria

JANUARY

- 26—The Soviet Union reduces by more than one-half the economic claims against Austria which it wants included in the Austrian treaty. The reduction involves a cut of more than 400,000,000 dollars from the original economic claims. *NYHT* (27)

FEBRUARY

- 16—Col. Gen. Kurasov, Soviet High Commissioner for Austria, proposes that military governments there be withdrawn, that the authority of the military courts over the Austrian population be limited, that jurisdiction over dis-

placed persons be given to the Austrian Government and that radio stations be turned over to it and the authority of the Austrian government to conclude separate agreements with occupying powers be curtailed. (14)

- 15—The Austrian Government has prepared a statement that Austria herself might raise \$150,000,000 to repay the Soviet Union for industries in eastern Austria taken by the Russians as German assets under the Potsdam pact terms. The Soviet Union had requested \$200,000,000 for the return of these industries to Austria. (16)

- 17—James F. Byrnes' *Speaking Frankly* is ordered confiscated throughout Soviet-occupied Austria. *NYHT* (18)

- 20—At the opening meeting of the deputies of the Big Four Foreign Ministers in London, the Soviet Union adheres to its proposals for a solution of the problem of German assets in Austria and turns aside two questions involving an easing of the terms. (21)

- 24—The U.S., Great Britain and France at the Big Four Foreign Ministers Deputies Conference in London, accuse the Soviet Union of trying to undermine negotiations for settlement of the problem of German assets in Austria. (25)

MARCH

- 2—The U.S. at the meeting of deputy foreign ministers in London rejects on five counts Soviet proposals for settlement of the Soviet Union's proposals for settlement of the Soviet Union's claims on German assets in Austria. (3)

- 10—Nikolai P. Koktomov, Soviet deputy to the Big Four Foreign Ministers Deputies Conference in

London says that the Soviet Union "might envisage measures of compromise if it were demonstrated they were necessary" and that the Soviet delegation would not insist on "every letter of the Soviet proposals." (11)

- 16—Koktomov says that the Soviet Union will not insist on a word-for-word adoption of her proposal for the payment of a lump sum of \$200,000,000 in two years by Austria to the Soviet Union. (17)

- 31—Koktomov says his government is willing to cut its claim to \$150,000,000 in convertible currency, spread over six years. (April 1)

APRIL

- 5—The Soviet Union at the London meeting, lowers its demands for oil in Austria and reduces its demands involving the Danube Shipping Company's assets. (6)

- 7—The Soviet Union rejects renewed pressure from the Big Three Western powers for further reductions in her economic demands on Austria. *NYHT* (8)

- 9—The Soviet Union in London rejects a British proposal that the Big Four Foreign Ministers Deputies sidestep temporarily their discussion of the German assets problem in Austria and take up other disputed points in the proposed Austrian treaty. *NYHT* (10)

Far East

JANUARY

- 4—Molotov, in a note made public today, agrees to participation of other nations in the preparation of a peace treaty with Japan, suggesting that the other members of the Far Eastern Commission be permitted to participate in sub-

committees and an information-consultation conference to assist the Big Four Foreign Ministers. *NYHT* (5)

- 23—The Soviet Union refuses to let the UN Temporary Commission on Korea visit the Soviet Commander in northern Korea to discuss an all-Korean election under UN auspices on the grounds that it was against the establishment of the commission to begin with. *NYHT* (24)

FEBRUARY

- 2—The Soviet Union has sent a protest note to the United States requesting that American planes cease "importunate inspection" of Russian shipping in Japanese waters. *NYHT* (2)
- 13—China and the Soviet Union have agreed to extend for two years their non-aggression pact, scheduled to expire Aug. 21. (14), *Pr.* (21)
- 17—Soviet prosecutors demand that Japanese warlord Hideki Tojo and his twenty-four co-defendants receive sentences that would be "a threatening warning to all those who would like to kindle the fire of a new war." (17)
- 18—The USSR and the Union of Burma establish relations and agree to exchange ambassadors. *SN* (24) *
- 19—Ambassador to U.S. Panyushkin declares that certain amendments he recently suggested unsuccessfully before the Far Eastern Commission to "improve and clarify" a policy directive adopted for disarming Japan are "very important" and that he has "reserved the right to return to their consideration again at an appropriate time." He says he issued this statement because some publications in the U.S. had pre-

sented the Soviet position "in the most tendentious and distorted light." (20)

MARCH

- 23—The Bangkok correspondent of the "Sunday Times" reports that the Soviet Union has invited the Siamese Defense Ministry to send officers to the Soviet Union for training. *NYHT* (29)

Finland

FEBRUARY

- 27—It is made known that Stalin has sent a letter to Finnish President Paasikivi urging the conclusion of a mutual defense pact between Finland and the Soviet Union. (28) *

MARCH

- 1—The Conservative Party of Finland announces its opposition to negotiation of a Russo-Finnish military alliance. (2)
- 2—Paasikivi puts seven questions to Stalin on the proposed treaty of mutual military assistance and friendship. (3)
- 3—Finnish Communist leaders call on Paasikivi to urge that negotiations of the proposed treaty with the Soviet Union be started immediately. *DW* (4)
- 4—It becomes certain that the Finns will agree to discuss a defense pact with the Soviet Union with the acceptance of such discussions by one of Finland's key political groups, the Social Democratic Party. (5)
- 8—Paasikivi accepts Stalin's proposals to negotiate a Soviet-Finnish treaty of friendship and mutual assistance and suggests that subsequent talks take place in Moscow rather than in Helsinki. (9)
- 9—Paasikivi appoints a seven-man delegation headed by Premier Mauno Pekkala to negotiate a friendship and mutual-assistance

pact with the Soviet Union. *NYHT* (10)

22—The Finnish delegation headed by Foreign Minister Carl Enckell arrives in Moscow to negotiate a twenty-year mutual assistance pact along the lines of treaties concluded recently by the Soviet Union with six eastern European countries. *NYHT* (23)

24—Finnish Premier Mauno Pekkala meets with Molotov to start off delayed negotiations for a mutual-aid treaty between the two countries. *NYHT* (25)

APRIL

6—Finland and the Soviet Union sign a ten-year mutual-aid pact in Moscow. (7)*, *NYHT* (7)*

12—Stalin at a dinner in honor of the Finnish Government delegation on April 7, says the new Soviet-Finnish treaty of mutual assistance is a "treaty between equals" and hopes that it will mark a turning point in relations between the two countries in the direction of trust and friendship. (13) *SN* (14) (see p. 65)

28—By a vote of 157 to 11, the Finnish parliament approves the new treaty of friendship and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union. *NYHT* (29)

Germany (see U.S.)

JANUARY

20—Marshal Sokolovsky, Soviet Commander in Germany, demands at the Allied Control Council Meeting that the U.S. and Great Britain disband the bizonal economic administration they have set up for their zones of Western Germany, stating that this move is a violation of the Potsdam Agreement and the agreement on the four-power control machinery. (21)

21—The U.S. State Department releases document pertaining to Nazi-Soviet relations between 1939 and 1941. (22)

FEBRUARY

8—Secretary of State Marshall rejects demands that the U.S. halt its plant dismantling in western Germany and asserts that the Soviet Union has refused to follow in practise the principles of German self-support, capacity to pay and economic unity laid down at Potsdam. *NYHT* (9)

11—Sokolovsky states in an interview that Russian reparations demands will not be reduced but occupation costs will be cut making possible an improvement in living conditions in the Soviet zone "independent of foreign creditors." (12)

11—Sokolovsky denies that a separate eastern-zone German government will be set up as a sequel to the establishment in western Germany of bizonal administration with new and extended powers. He also states that private initiative in the Soviet zone will be welcomed and protected, occupation costs will be lowered and the policy of confiscating factories will be modified. *NYHT* (12)

13—Soviet military authorities issue a decree conferring extensive new powers on a broadened and highly centralized German economic administration for the Soviet occupation zone. *NYHT* (14)

14—The Soviet Union, in the third chapter of its reply to the State Department's release on the Nazi-Soviet Pact, states that Britain and France had sought to make an appeasement deal with Germany, that U.S. billionaires were supplying Hitler aggression with arms

- and that the Soviet Union negotiated a treaty with Germany not only to protect herself but to safeguard European peace. (15) (See Great Britain, U.S. for references to first two chapters)
- 14—The Soviet Union protests in Washington against the U.S., British and French conference on long-range economic plans for Germany, stating that this is a violation of the Potsdam agreement. (15)*
- 19—A Soviet demand for immediate inspection of naval bases in Germany by four-power demilitarization teams is turned down by the Western Allies in spite of a Soviet offer to give such teams free and unfettered access to all naval installations in the Soviet zone. The Soviet Administration charges the U.S. and British Military Governments with "sabotaging" the demilitarization of Germany. (20), *NYHT* (20)
- 20—In reply to Soviet charges that the Western Powers were failing to demilitarize their zones, Gen. Clay gives the Allied Control Council reports of building of military ships and mining of uranium in the Soviet occupation zone. *NYHT* (21)
- 21—The State Department rejects a Soviet protest against the forthcoming United States - British-French meeting on the economic future of Germany as a violation of the Potsdam Agreement. (22)
- 27—Sokolovsky orders the dissolution of all denazification commissions in the Soviet zone by March 10, declaring that the zone had been cleared of active fascist and militarists. (28)
- 29—The Soviet Military administration orders the Soviet-licensed newspaper, *Berlin am Mittag*, to cease publication, as punishment for repeated violations of Allied press directives, prohibiting malicious criticism of occupying powers. It was attacked by the U.S., Britain and France. *NYHT* (Mar. 1)
- MARCH
- 6,7—Tass denounces the decisions reached by the Big Three Western Powers at the London Foreign Ministers Conference on Germany as an "outrageous violation" of the Potsdam agreement and the results, as the Soviet see it, will be to turn Bizonia into Trizonia. *SN* (9)*
- 20—Marshal Sokolovsky states that the Control Council "no longer exists as an organ of government" and with the Soviet delegation he walks out of the Allied Control Council meeting. (21)
- 22—The Soviet delegation cancels all Allied Control Council meetings scheduled for today and tomorrow. *NYHT* (23)
- 23—The three Western Powers put a halt to four-power machinery for governing Germany until the Russians agree to attend Allied Control Council meetings. *NYHT* (24)
- 26—Soviet authorities state that the Western Powers have sabotaged the Allied control machinery and have partitioned Germany. (27)
- 26—The U.S. rejects the Mar. 6th Soviet protest on the Western Powers' conference on Germany in a note handed to Ambassador Panyushkin in Washington (see *SN*, Mar. 9*). Britain rejected a similar protest yesterday. (27)*
- 26—The Soviets indicate that they will return to the Allied Control Council but also indicate that they will end the council permanently if the Western Allies proceed

with their plan for a separate government of western Germany. *NYHT* (27)

- 31—The U.S., Great Britain and France reject a Soviet note giving twenty-four-hour notice on new procedures imposing Soviet inspection control over Western Allied persons and goods travelling westward over the international corridor from Berlin. *NYHT* (April 1)

APRIL

- 1—The U.S. begins to supply its 10,000 nationals in Berlin by air as a part of a plan to block the Soviet move to exert control authority over traffic between Berlin and western Germany. *NYHT* (2)
- 4—The Russians offer to meet with the Americans and British to "clarify details" of recent Soviet travel curbs in Germany and in an official note, deny existence of any agreement with the Western Powers for "free use of the corridor" connecting Berlin with the West *NYHT* (5)
- 8—Sokolovsky in reply to British demand for an explanation of a fatal collision of a Soviet fighter plane with a British airliner states that the British are attempting to "present the accident as the result of a planned action by the Soviet pilot" and that this "can be interpreted by me only as defamation apparently following provocative aims." He says that the accident was the fault of British transport authorities who did not inform Soviet authorities of the plane's arrival in its territory, a violation of regulations laid down by the Allied Authority. (8)* On April 9, Gen. Sir Brian Robertson changes his position on the accident, drops his demands for a quadripartite investigation and assures Sokolovsky that British planes had been strictly instructed to observe quadripartite flight safety instructions. (10)
- 9—A group of German writers come to Moscow on invitation of the Union of Soviet Writers to participate in literary exchanges. *Iz.* (9, 10)
- 10—C. L. Sulzberger reports "Protocol M" to have been proved a forgery and to have been discovered by the British Intelligence Service to have been prepared by an anti-Communist German. (11)
- 12—British and American authorities disclose that they have put plans into operation to rebuild a power plant that will make western sectors of Berlin independent of Soviet sources of supply. A quadripartite agreement on such a project had previously failed because of Soviet opposition in the Kommandatura. (13)
- 30—Soviet authorities assert that U.S. Army intelligence agents have kidnapped a Soviet officer, Lieutenant Colonel J. D. Tassev and they have sent formal protests demanding his immediate release. *NYHT* (May 1)

Great Britain

JANUARY

- 7—The Soviet trade-union paper *Trud*, in connection with disturbances in Palestine, accuses the British of kindling discord there "in an attempt to retain their positions." *NYHT* (8)
- 22—Bevin, in a major pronouncement of British foreign policy, tells the House of Commons that the time "is ripe for consolidation of western Europe," and says Great Britain will negotiate a series of treaties to that end. He also de-

- clares that "nothing the British government does now" in this matter will be "directed against the Soviet Union or any other country. . . ." (23), *NYHT* (23)
- 25—Winston Churchill, warmly supporting Bevin's plan for a western European union, urges the "Western democracies" to unite and "bring matters to a head" at once with the Soviet government before the Russians develop an atomic bomb, possibly in a year or two. He says there is "very real danger" in delay. (24), *NYHT* (24)
- FEBRUARY**
- 2—The first shipments of Russian grain to Britain under the recent trade agreement between the two countries has left Russia. (3)
- 10—In reply to a declaration by the Soviet Information Bureau that the Russians in 1945 asked Britain for representation in a study of captured German documents and were turned down, the British Foreign Office says that it has no trace of such a request. (11)
- 11—The 7,176-ton Soviet cargo ship *Baku*, carrying 8,000 tons of maize—the first consignment from the USSR under the recent British-Soviet trade accord, anchors in the Thames. (12)
- 11—In the second chapter of a reply by the Soviet Information Bureau to publication by the U.S. State Dept. of German documents, it is stated that Great Britain and France had connived with Adolf Hitler in hatching World War II by appeasing him, and that they had sought to get him to attack the Soviet Union. In the process, it is also stated that Britain and France betrayed Austria and Czechoslovakia. (12), *NYHT* (12)
- 12—Britain denies Russian assertions that she had a secret anti-Soviet "deal" with Hitler in 1938. (13)
- 14—In the third installment of Russia's reply to the State Department's publication of wartime German documents, the Soviet Union asserts that Great Britain and France shared the basic pre-war aim of getting Russia and Germany to come to grips. *NYHT* (15)
- 15—The Soviet Union has opened negotiations in London for multi-million dollar purchases of British industrial and scientific equipment to implement the recent Anglo-Soviet trade pact. *DW* (15)
- 25—A six-man British trade delegation has arrived in Berlin to negotiate with the Russians for a trade agreement with the Soviet occupation zone. *NYHT* (26)
- MARCH**
- 21—Bevin is accused by *Izvestia* of failing to fulfill Britain's obligations to the Soviet Union under their twenty-year treaty of alliance. *NYHT* (22)
- Italy and France**
- JANUARY**
- 31—The Italian government takes issue with Soviet protest that the presence of American warships in Italian ports violates the Italian peace treaty and states that Italy has authorized the presence of the ships. *NYHT* (February 1)
- FEBRUARY**
- 2—Italy makes public a list of warships to be divided among the USSR, France, Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania under the terms of the Italian peace treaty. The Soviet Union gets the largest share, forty-five ships, including the only battleship. *NYHT* (9)

- 10—A French diplomat says that France was not consulted by the U.S. before the State Department published German Foreign Office documents on Nazi-Soviet relations and that no side has been taken by France on the issue. (11)
- 15—The Italian Foreign Ministry announces that Italian-Soviet trade negotiations have been temporarily halted, the reason given that Russia has asked a trade agreement to be tied in with a program for payment of reparations. (16)
- 16—Bogomolov, Soviet Ambassador to France, presents a protest to Georges Bidault on behalf of his government against the three-power conference on Germany to be held at London. *NYHT* (17)
- 17—The Soviet Union declares itself in favor of plans to return all former Italian colonies to temporary Italian control. (18)
- 19—The resignation of General Georges Catrou as French Ambassador at Moscow is confirmed. *NYHT* (20)
- MARCH
- 3—Dr. Edgar Longuet who arrived in Moscow recently as a guest of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute at a commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Communist Manifesto, says his old age has been comforted by his visit to the country that has adopted the teachings of his grandfather, Karl Marx. (7)
- 11—Yves Chataigneu is appointed French Ambassador to Moscow. (12)
- 14—The Soviet Union announces that it will discuss a trade agreement with Italy and that the question of the supply of goods, as reparations by Italy to the Soviet Union, must be discussed simultaneously . . ." *NYHT* (15)
- 19—Eight Soviet nationals are to be deported to the French occupation zone of Germany to be handed over eventually to Soviet authorities. Eleven Soviet nationals were arrested last night for deportation with statement made by the Ministry of Interior that they had violated a 1907 law forbidding secret organizations. *NYHT* (20)
- 20—The U.S., Great Britain and France propose to the USSR that the Free Territory of Trieste be returned to Italy on the grounds that Yugoslavia has not lived up to treaty agreements. *NYHT* (21)*
- APRIL
- 6—The French Communist weekly *Lettres Francaises* has announced it will bring to Paris a number of witnesses from the Soviet Union in its defense against a suit for libel brought by Victor Kravchenko, Soviet refugee author of *I Chose Freedom*. *NYHT* (7)
- 9—The U.S., Great Britain and France propose to the Soviet Union and Italy that drafting of changes necessary in the Italian peace treaty to restore Trieste to Italian sovereignty be started in Paris early next month. (10)
- 13—The Soviet Union rejects a joint British, French and American proposal for early negotiations in Paris with a view to returning the Free Territory of Trieste to Italy, describing the proposal as "violating the elementary principle of democracy." (14)
- 16—The American, British and French governments ask the Soviet Union for the third time in a month

to consider returning Trieste to Italy. *NYHT* (17)

Latin America

JANUARY

21—Tass says that two members of the Argentine Embassy staff have been expelled for trying to smuggle two friends out of the Soviet Union. (22)

27—Chile is holding some twenty-five Soviet citizens as hostages in Santiago because the Soviet Union will not permit the Soviet wife of the son of a Chilean diplomat to leave the USSR. *NYHT* (28)

MARCH

31—Chile urges the American nations meeting at Bogota, Colombia to take their stand with the United States against the Soviet Union, stating that there is "no room for third fronts." *NYHT* (April 1)

APRIL

12—Secretary of State Marshall blames international communism for the uprising in Bogota. It is also revealed that the Colombian government has announced it is breaking off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union as a result of the uprising, for which it blames "foreign agents." *NYHT* (13)

13—The Soviet Union denies as "absurd fabrications" charges that "Soviet agents" took part in the Bogota uprising, adding that for several days the Kremlin has been unable to make contact with its legation at Bogota. *NYHT* (14)

Near East

FEBRUARY

2—The Soviet Union in a note made public today, notifies the Iranian government that it is threaten-

ing Soviet borders by constructing fortifications along the Soviet frontier and converting Iran into a military base for the use of American forces. *NYHT* (3) *SM* (2)*

4—The Iranian Government and U.S. Ambassador George V. Allen denounce the Soviet note to Iran on American military activities in Iran as baseless and as constituting improper interference in Iran's internal affairs. The USSR is also accused of aiding Iranian rebels, of harboring rebel leaders in the USSR and of permitting them to use a secret Soviet-based radio for propaganda and of maintaining an "unfriendly" attitude by conducting "constant" army maneuvers on the Iranian frontier. (5)

MARCH

3—In the first treaty to be completed between the two countries, the USSR and Egypt sign a barter agreement. The Soviet Union agrees to send 216,000 tons of wheat and 19,000 tons of corn to Egypt within the next four months in exchange for 38,000 tons of cotton. (4)

29—It is officially disclosed that Iran has dispatched a note to Moscow protesting against Soviet propaganda directed against the government and charging that it was forced to recruit foreign advisors because the Russians "for the last hundred years had been threatening Iran's independence." *NYHT* (30)

The Balkans, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania

JANUARY

3—The Soviet Union has notified Hungary that Soviet Army forces remaining in the country are "only those units which are necessary to secure the lines of com-

- munications" to the Soviet occupied zone in Austria. The note stresses that the reduction of military strength had been effected by Dec. 14, in conformance with Article 22 of the Hungarian peace treaty. (4)
- 7—The USSR and Bulgaria have decided to raise their legations to Embassies and raise the Ministers to the rank of Ambassador. *SN* (7)
- 8—The USSR and Bulgaria sign two protocols on regulation of several questions concerning the transfer of former German assets in Bulgaria to the USSR. *Iz.* (13)
- 16—A polish delegation headed by Premier Josef Cyrankiewicz has arrived in Moscow to negotiate new agreements tightening still further the ties between Poland and the Soviet Union. *NYHT* (18)
- 18—It is reported that Bulgaria and the Soviet Union have concluded an agreement covering mail and telegraph and telephone communications. *NYHT* (19)
- 19—Hungary and the USSR exchange ratification instruments of the July 15, 1947 Treaty of Trade and Navigation. *Pr.* (20)
- 19—The first shipload of the 75,000 tons of wheat the USSR agreed to sell to Bulgaria arrived yesterday at the Black Sea port of Burgas. Three other vessels are due this week. (20)
- 27—Soviet and Polish trade negotiators signed an agreement yesterday covering the exchange of more than one billion dollars worth of goods within the next five years. A credit agreement is also signed providing that Russia will grant Poland a medium-term credit of \$450,000,000 for the purchase of industrial equipment and in addition Russia has agreed to sell Poland on credit a supplementary 200,000 tons of grain deliverable during the next three months.. *NYHT* (27)
- FEBRUARY
- 4—A treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance is signed by the USSR and Rumania. *SN* (5) (see p. 68)
- 18—The Soviet Union and Hungary sign a twenty-year mutual defense treaty. (19) (see p. 66)
- MARCH
- 2—The USSR and Hungary have decided to raise their legations to Embassies and raise the Ministers to the rank of Ambassador. *SN* (2)
- 3—The Hungarian parliament unanimously ratifies the Hungarian-Soviet treaty of friendship and mutual assistance. *NYHT* (4)
- 4—Former King Mihai of Rumania states in London that his abdication was forced upon him by a government "installed and maintained in power by a foreign country." *NYHT* (5)
- 16—Poland has signed a new trade agreement with the Soviet zone of Germany providing for the exchange of goods amounting to \$56,000,000. Trade under the 1947 agreement between Poland and the Soviet zone totaled \$26,000,000. *NYHT* (17)
- 18—The Soviet Union concludes a twenty-year treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual aid with Bulgaria. *NYHT* (19) *SM* (19) (see p. 70). It is ratified by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on April 7. *Pr.* (April 18)
- 29—The Soviet Minister to Hungary, G. M. Pushkin, is appointed Soviet Ambassador there. (29)

- 30—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR ratifies the Soviet - Hungarian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. *SM* (April 1) *Iz.* (April 1)

APRIL

- 1—The Presidium of the National Assembly of Bulgaria ratifies the mutual assistance treaty with the USSR. (2)
- 1—The president of Czechoslovakia, Benes, receives the new Soviet Ambassador, Mikhail Silin, and says in his statement: "Our unity is the natural and concrete expression of the deep friendship which connects our fraternally related nations. The nations of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are filled with the deep purpose and will to maintain and strengthen if possible an everlasting peace, and to achieve security for Europe . . ." (2)
- 3—A Soviet-Bulgarian trade and navigation treaty and an agreement on exchange of commodities is signed, to extend through 1948. *NYHT* (4)
- 5—A Soviet delegation of educators arrives in Prague for the celebration of the 600th anniversary of Charles University in Prague. *Iz.* (6)
- 6—Academicians S. Vavilov, V. Vinogradov, B. Grekov, B. Isachenko, I. Meshchaninov, L. Orbeli, E. Tarle and I. Trainin receive honorary doctorates from Prague University. *Iz.* (6)
- 22—The Soviet Union and Hungary exchange ratification instruments of the Feb. 18th Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance. *Pr.* (23)

Scandinavian Countries

JANUARY

- 1—The Soviet Ministry of Foreign

Trade announces that all papers were signed yesterday on a Soviet-Swedish agreement for exchange of goods in 1948. (2)

- 6, 7—An increased exchange of goods between Norway and the Soviet Union is provided for under terms of a trade protocol between the two countries. The Soviet Union will supply Norway with 100,000 tons of wheat, 50,000 tons of rye and quantities of phosphate, manganese and chrome ore; Norway will furnish 20,000 tons of whale oil, 30,000 tons of herring, aluminum and other ores. (7), *NYHT* (8)

FEBRUARY

- 29—The Danish Minister of Commerce, Jens Krag, is to go to Moscow in a few weeks at the head of a trade delegation to seek negotiations for a new Danish-Soviet trade agreement. *NYHT* (March 1)

MARCH

- 15—Moscow has informed Denmark that the Soviet Government is "not too enthusiastic about the way in which Russia is being treated by the Danish press." (16)
- 27—*Izvestia*, protesting against military arrangements which Norway is declared to be making with the United States and Great Britain, says also that Norway has embarked on an increasingly dangerous foreign policy in supporting the Marshall plan and the western European union. *NYHT* (28)
- 28—The newspapers *Red Star* and *Red Fleet*, stating that a war clique is striving to control the Swedish government, says also that Sweden's military commander is planning to build bases for U.S. planes and parachute troops on Swedish soil. (29)

APRIL

- 24—The Soviet Union placed orders in Sweden up to the first of this year for goods valued at 300,000,000 kroner (about \$84,000,000) out of the 1,000,000,000 kroner provided for in the credit agreement signed between the two countries. According to the terms of a separate trade agreement, the USSR will supply Sweden with goods valued at 53,000,000 kroner and has already delivered supplies of iron, salt, chromium and manganese ore, asbestos, flax and goat and sheep skins. *NYHT* (25)
- 25—Ambassador Panyushkin calls for expanded Soviet-American trade as a step toward better diplomatic relations, noting that "American regulating trade agencies" are discriminating against commerce with the Soviet Union despite the desire of "certain circles" in the U.S. that want to develop and strengthen this trade. (26)

United States

JANUARY

- 5—The State Department says there is no secret agreement between the USSR and any other Big Power for the USSR to get a substantial part of Japan's industrial plants as war reparations and that the USSR will get nothing of the initial 30 per cent of Japanese industrial plants to be distributed by General MacArthur. *NYHT* (6)
- 18—Soviet Ambassador Panyushkin announces on Jan. 16th that the Soviets are ready to reopen negotiations for a final settlement of the USSR's \$11,297,000,000 lend-lease account. *PM* (18)
- 21—The State Department releases captured German documents to show that Stalin and Hitler planned to divide the world between them. (22)
- 22—The State Department through broadcasts of its "Voice of America" informs the world of the volume it has released on German-Soviet relations. (23)
- 23—Tass says that the USSR proposed on Dec. 16 that the U.S. take into "full consideration" the Soviet Army's contribution toward the Allied victory in rewriting the terms of settlement of the wartime lend-lease program. *NYHT* (24)
- 26—The Soviet Union has resumed talks for settling its \$11,200,000 000 lend-lease account with a counter-proposal to scale down the bill submitted by the U.S. *NYHT* (27)
- 29—The Moscow Radio reports that the USSR has protested to the U.S. over presence of American warships in Italian ports, and has sent formal protests to the U.S. and Britain over American proposals to reopen the Mellaha air base outside Tripoli, as contradicting the terms of the Italian peace treaty. (29, 30), *NYHT* (29, 30)
- 30—David Zaslavsky writing in the journal *Oktiabr* says that American correspondents abroad are a combination of reporter and "reconnaissance worker-spy," and that the newspaper industry in the U.S. "does not differ from the oil industry," noting that "the foreign correspondent is also an agent of expansionist American capital." (30)
- 31—Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, rejects a protest from the National Council of American-So-

viet Friendship against the film "The Iron Curtain" which the Council says impairs relations with the Soviet Union. (Feb. 1)

FEBRUARY

- 2—The Soviet Government submits to the State Department a note offering to return to the U.S. seven tankers and one dry cargo vessel that Russia received during the war under lend-lease. (3)
- 2—The U.S. rejects the recent Soviet protest against the presence of American warships in Italian ports and brands as "false" Soviet charges that the U.S. is making Iran an American military base. (3)
- 3—The U.S. rejects the Soviet protest against the agreement reached with Great Britain for temporary use by American air transit planes of the Mellaha airfield in Libya. (4)
- 5—The U.S. reveals that President Truman in 1946 invited Premier Stalin to come to the U.S. aboard an American battleship and reply to Winston Churchill's "iron curtain" speech at Fulton, Mo. Stalin sent back a "polite declination." *NYHT* (6)
- 6—*Trud*, Soviet trade-union newspaper says the U.S. is planning a war and compares the military budgets of the USSR and of the U.S. (7)
- 6—The Soviet press publishes a Copenhagen newspaper allegation that the U.S. and Great Britain have concluded a secret military agreement with Sweden, Norway and Denmark. *NYHT* (7)
- 6—The Soviet Information Bureau, in the first installment of a 6,000 word statement entitled "Falsifiers of History—A Historical Note," replies to publication of secret Soviet-German diplomatic documents by the U.S. Department, asserting that the U.S., Great Britain and France had made World War II possible by financing Hitler's war industry and appeasing Germany. (10), (11) *
- 14—*Red Star* sounds a warning against spies, wreckers and saboteurs declared to be working for the Americans and the British. *NYHT* (15)
- 15—General Eisenhower tells the nation without mentioning the Soviet Union by name, that should a "colossus" encroach further on either the East or the West, the threats to the U.S. are clear. *NYHT* (16)
- 15—American sources say the Soviets have rejected American Embassy protests over a \$70,000 loss incurred as a result of the recent Soviet monetary reform. *NYHT* (16)
- 16—The Soviet government, in the fourth and last installment of "Falsifiers of History" charges that the U.S. and Great Britain secretly negotiated for peace in Germany behind the back of the Soviet Union between 1941 and 1943. (17), *NYHT* (17)
- 22—The American Merchant Marine Institute says that approval of the Soviet Union's offer to buy eighty-seven cargo ships lend-leased to her by the U.S. during the war would make the Soviet merchant fleet the fourth largest in the world, that it would boost the Soviet merchant marine to 2,580,000 tons, 50% more than her 1939 level and that the Soviet merchant navy would then comprise 405 freighters, fifty-eight cargo-passenger vessels and thirty-two tankers. *NYHT* (23)
- 22—The State Department publishes hitherto secret documents disclos-

- ing that the U.S. in 1919 feared Bolshevism just as much, if not more, than it does today. *NYHT* (23)
- 24—Lieutenant Governor Arthur W. Coolidge of Massachusetts asserts that Soviet agents are infiltrating into Hawaii in a move tantamount to "a new surprise attack on Pearl Harbor." *NYHT* (25)
- 24—Russian maritime authorities turn over a \$2,000,000 lend-lease tanker to U.S. officials in Hong Kong. The captain taking over the tanker says the Russians have returned it in good condition. (25)
- 24—Henry Wallace states that a lasting peace with the USSR will be possible only if a "new President" is installed in the White House, indicating that a new approach to peace is needed and that this new approach will involve abandonment of the Marshall Plan, which he condemns as a "blueprint for war," and other steps to allay Soviet fears of American "imperialist" intentions in Europe. *NYHT* (25)
- 27—Annabella Bucar, administrative assistant at the American Embassy in Moscow, resigns because of opposition to the policy of the American Embassy which she considered anti-Soviet, and love for her Soviet husband to whom she has been secretly married for thirteen months. (28), *Iz.* (29)
- 27—Secretary of Commerce Harriman tells a closed meeting of a Congressional committee that the Soviet Union constitutes "a greater menace than Hitler was." *NYHT* (28)
- 29—In a report of a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee entitled "The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism," the United States is called upon to take the lead in "fencing off Communist Russia" from the non-Communist world or face "violent" global revolution. *NYHT* (March 1)
- MARCH
- 4—The Soviet Union opens its first large exhibition in New York since the World's Fair at the New York Museum of Science and Industry. (5)
- 5—The Soviet Union has filed a second protest (the first was on Jan. 30) against the activities of U.S. airplanes in the Far East which it claims are interfering with the freedom of navigation of Soviet ships in the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan. *Iz.* (5)
- 8—In a note to the U.S., Britain and France, the USSR asserts that the United States is leading a Western power plot to split Europe and build up military might in Germany "with the purpose of aggression against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." (9)
- 13—Former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes in a speech to cadets in South Carolina, proposes that the U.S. "act immediately" the next time Russia makes an indirect move of aggression in Europe. *NYHT* (1)
- 13—A comprehensive project of research into "what makes Russia tick" is in preparation, headed by Dr. Clyde K. M. Kluckhohn at a newly-organized Russian Research Center at Harvard University. *NYHT* (14)
- 14—Senator Robert A. Taft says that he has "no knowledge of any Russian intention for military aggression." *NYHT* (15)
- 14—Secretary of State Marshall says that as a result of Communist "intimidation, fraud and terror," the "hour is far more fateful now

- than it was one year ago." *NYHT* (15)
- 17—President Truman calls on Congress to revive the draft temporarily as a move to help forestall the "clear design" of the Soviet Union to extend its "ruthless" aggression to the remaining free nations of Europe. He says that "one nation has persistently obstructed the work of the UN by constant abuse of the veto," that "the Soviet Union and its agents have destroyed the independence and democratic character of a whole series of nations in eastern and central Europe, that the Soviet Union is responsible for events in Czechoslovakia and that they are against ERP because it is a "major obstacle to their design to subjugate the free community of Europe." (18)
- 17—In a St. Patrick's Day speech in New York, President Truman says that "one nation obstructed co-operative effort" in Europe, that it has "steadily extended its control over its neighbors" and for these reasons the U.S. must be strong by enacting military training legislation. (18)*
- 17—Secretary of State Marshall asks for a system of military training on the grounds that the Soviet Union has taken away the independence of many European nations and will continue to do so if America is not in a position to stop her. (18)*
- 23—Richard Morford, executive director of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, is convicted of contempt of Congress by a district court jury for refusing to surrender his organization's records. (24)
- 23—At a dinner of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Ambassador Panyushkin says that the Soviet Union has always stood and now stands for peace and international cooperation, that after all its war suffering the Soviet people "especially value peace," that proof of its peaceful aspirations is the struggle being carried on by the USSR for "the prohibition of war propaganda, the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of the atomic bomb." He says that the recent changes in the Czechoslovak government, far from being an act of aggression by the Soviet Union, were made in accordance with the constitution of the Czech Republic and constitute "an internal affair" of its people, and that Soviet treaties with all countries are based on equal rights of the signatory countries and on respect for the principle of sovereignty and the national interests of the countries entering into agreement." (24)
- 23—An inquiry into the issuance of licenses for exports to Soviet Russia is started by the Senate investigations subcommittee as complaints against such shipments mount in and out of Congress. (24)
- 23—Officials say that the U.S. has no objection to selling the eighty-seven vessels involved in the lend-lease settlement to the Soviet Union, provided a satisfactory general lend-lease settlement can be worked out. (24)
- 25—Senator Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina proposes prosecution of U.S. concerns and individuals involved in shipping war materials to the USSR. *NYHT* (26)
- 25—Commodore Robert C. Lee, ex-

- ecutive vice-president of Moore-McCormack Lines, says that the Department of Commerce is turning down requests for export licenses for cargoes destined for the USSR. Since March 1, when export controls were reinstituted, Amtorg Trading Corporation has been unable to obtain licenses. *NYHT* (26)
- 25—Two Navy officials say that foreign submarines, in all probability Russian have been discovered operating off American shores. *NYHT* (26)
- 26—President Truman classifies all aircraft and parts as implements of war and places them under State Department license control, which will permit none to go to the Soviet Union or its "satellites." *NYHT* (27)
- 26—In a note rejecting a Moscow protest that the U.S., Great Britain and France have broken agreements on Four-Power control of Germany in their conference in London, the U.S. blames the Soviet Union for splitting Germany and for creating a totalitarian regime in Eastern Germany. (27)*
- 28—Senator Claude Pepper asserts that the Soviet Union "has been guilty of aggression which offends and affronts our sense of independence and dignity and freedom of the world." *NYHT* (29)
- 29—The State Department in letters to the governors of the 48 American states, says that the U.S. has never recognized Soviet annexation of the Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia. *NYHT* (30)
- 29—Tass denies reports of Soviet submarines cruising off the shores of the U.S., as charged on Mar. 25, describing the reports as "absurd and grossly slanderous." (30)
- 30—The Rev. Dr. G. Bromely Oxnam sounds a call to the nation's churches "to become so vocal in the face of the current war hysteria that our leaders will know we want immediate steps taken to avert the danger of war with Russia." *NYHT* (31)
- 31—Picketing by members of the Hudson County Chapter of the Catholic War Veterans stops the loading of the Russian freighter *Volga* at the Claremont Terminal of the Lehigh Valley Railroad in Jersey City. Pickets are withdrawn on April 1 after Assurances to the Catholic War Veterans that there will be a Congressional investigation of the ship's owners, the Amtorg Trading Corporation. (April 1), *NYHT* (April 1)
- 31—The Soviet Government has protested to the U.S. over the detention of the trans-Atlantic liner *Rossia* in New York which finally leaves on April 8. (April 1), *Iz.* (April 9)

APRIL

- 3—Secretary of Commerce Harriman states at a press conference that any move by the U.S. to halt the exports of potential war material to Russia could result in their retaliation by refusing to ship any more chrome and manganese ores to this country, and that the U.S. needs these ores from the USSR, which, in the last half of 1947 were valued at \$22,500,000. For the first nine months of 1947 Soviet chromite constituted nearly twenty-five per cent of the total imported by the U.S., or about 253,000 tons for the year. *NYHT* (4)
- 5—Loading of 1,500 tons of cargo for Russia begins at Claremont

- Terminal, Jersey City, on the Moore-McCormack freighter Mormacmail. The cargo was to have gone on the Russian passenger vessel *Rossia* scheduled to leave on May 6, but which will leave on March 10 without the cargo. Commodore Lee says his company has made sure the cargo included no military supplies for Russia. *NYHT* (6)
- 5—The Commerce Department asks Congress for more money to enforce strict control over shipment of potential war supplies to the USSR from the U.S. *NYHT* (6)
- 8—In a publication of four heretofore secret Soviet Supply Protocols released by the State Department, it is revealed that the Soviet Union tried, in lend-lease negotiations, and failed early in 1944 to obtain 540 heavy, long-range bombing planes from the United States, and that in October, 1941, top Soviet, American and British officials met in Moscow and signed the first of a series of four protocols setting forth what the USSR wanted from the U.S. (and later Canada) and what the U.S. and Britain believed they could make available to the Russians. *NYHT* (9)
- 9—U.S. exports going to the "Soviet bloc" are undergoing a sharp cut under the strict licensing policy adopted March 1. Department of Commerce officials estimate that less than \$250,000 worth of goods has been licensed for shipment to Russia and that about \$2,000,000 worth of goods was licensed in March for shipment to all of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union and Finland. (10)
- 11—Four leading Soviet composers demand that the Twentieth Century-Fox studios remove their music from the motion picture *The Iron Curtain*, which they denounce as a slanderous, anti-Soviet production. *NYHT* (12)
- 12—Secretary of State Marshall blames the Soviet Union for the Bogota uprising and its attendant violence, stating to the press that the revolt was Communist-inspired and, as such, is of world-wide importance. (13)
- 15—Robert Magidoff, news correspondent for the National Broadcasting Company, the British Exchange Telegraph and the McGraw-Hill Publishing Company of New York, says he has been informed by the Soviet Press Department that his further work in Moscow is impossible and that he is leaving the Soviet Union in two or three days. His statement follows publication of a long letter in *Izvestia* which that newspaper says was from Magidoff's American-born secretary, accusing him of spying for the U.S. (16)
- 16—It becomes known today that the Soviet Union is steadily reducing the number of Russians assigned to duty in the U.S., that the number of Soviet diplomatic, consular, purchasing and miscellaneous personnel, including dependents, has been trimmed below 350 as compared with 766 a year ago. Official records now show that only 164 Americans, including twenty-five dependents, are living in Moscow, plus a consul and three aids at Vladivostok. *NYHT* (17)
- 17—Commerce Department officials say that donations to Russia this year through American private relief or aid organizations will be less than a quarter of last year's

totals, and that gifts to the USSR during the first three months of 1948 were valued at \$109,000. *NYHT* (18)

18—Robert Magidoff, arriving in Berlin from Moscow denies the charge that he is a spy. *NYHT* (19)

23—It is revealed that the Soviet Union has shipped home \$4,490,910 of the gold it has on deposit with the New York Federal Reserve Bank, of a total of \$74,000,000 on deposit here.. *NYHT* (24)

24—The Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches urges in a statement appearing in the May issue of "Washington Report" that American policies with respect to Russia avoid appeasement and anti-Russia hysteria. *NYHT* (25)

30—The U.S. government's new export controls will permit the USSR and eastern Europe to buy agricultural equipment here but no heavy machinery which could be used for war production. The list, made public by the Commerce Department, outlining what may be bought, includes horses for breeding purposes and mules, cooking utensils, hospital utensils and knives and forks. Agricultural implements will not include tractors. *NYHT* (May 1)

30—The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America urges President Truman to seek world peace primarily through the use of economic, social and moral means rather than weapons and war measures and in a seven-point program lists means which they say would be more effective in overcoming the world crisis and resisting communism than the current military program. They ask

the President to keep open the door of diplomatic negotiations with Russia. (May 1)*

Miscellaneous Countries

JANUARY

21—The USSR and the Belgium-Luxembourg economic union sign a trade treaty. *NYHT* (22), *Pr.* (22)

22—Canada has denied Soviet military representatives in Canada the privilege of visiting Canadian military establishments because similar privileges have not been accorded the dominion's military attache at Moscow. This policy is disclosed in a joint statement by the Canadian Defense and External Departments in connection with a proposed visit by foreign military attaches to a big Canadian military camp. *NYHT* (23)

28—It is announced in Brussels that the Belgian mission, in Moscow for two months, is negotiating a satisfactory trade agreement with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is to send Belgium cereals, timber, and chemical raw materials and Belgium is to send the Soviet Union iron and steel goods, engines and chemical products under this agreement (29)

28—A *Pravda* editorial repudiates the idea of a federation and customs union of Balkan and Danubian states as suggested by Dimitrov in a recent press conference in Sofia. The editorial states that these countries do not need a problematic and invented federation or customs union and that the fact that the world is divided into blocs is the fault of the western states. (29) *NYHT* (29)

29—In an open letter in *New Times* of Nov. 26, 1947, replying to four Soviet scientists who have criti-

cized his views on world government, Dr Albert Einstein states that the Soviet position on world government is a "trend toward an almost unlimited isolationism;" he also criticizes the Soviet Union for its stand on international control of atomic energy development. (30), *NYHT* (30)

FEBRUARY

- 18—A trade agreement between Belgium and the Soviet Union is concluded. After protracted negotiations the USSR accepts the statement that Belgium cannot export the 3,000 tons of tin that the Russians had previously sought and the Russians will reduce a quantity of cereals earlier agreed upon to be sent to Belgium. Belgium will send to the Soviet Union metal wire, rails, copper, excavators, rayon fibre and wool rags. (19)
- 18—The American CIO and the British TUC have asked for a February conference of the WFTU on European recovery; Soviet trade leaders have refused to participate, backed in their position by Louis Saillant. In this connection, James Carey has asked for an appointment with Vasili

Kuznetsov to discuss the matter with him, and has not as yet received an answer. The TUC has decided to call its own conference outside the WFTU, in which the CIO has decided to participate. *NYHT* (19)

- 20—Upon invitation from Kuznetsov, Carey flies to Moscow arriving there on Feb. 25 to discuss the proposed WFTU conference. *NYHT* (21, 26)

MARCH

- 17—Switzerland and the Soviet Union sign a trade agreement which will run for a year with provision for extension. The USSR will deliver grain, wood and fuel oil. Switzerland will deliver machines, precision instruments, watches, chemicals and textiles. (19), *Iz.* (19)

APRIL

- 19—Mr. L. Roberts, chairman of the National Council of Canadian-Soviet Friendship arrives in Moscow at the invitation of VOKS. *Iz.* (21)
- 30—Soviet newspapers announce that the Soviet government has agreed to an Australian proposal that their respective legations be raised to embassies. *NYHT* (May1)

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